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THE CASE OF MEXICO

THE MENACING SHADOW ON OUR BORDER

By LUCILLE WETHERELL

The Mexican Problem is one of the most insistent problems before the American people today. For some years Mexico has been in the throes of rebirth, and, during her gropings for the light, she has been a victim of ill-considered, ignorant attack in our Press by many irresponsible and wholly untrustworthy writers. THE FORUM, continuing its policy of securing for its readers the best information and thought on vital topics of interest, recently offered a prize for the best articles on the Mexican Situation.

THE FORUM'S offer aroused an unexpected, widespread degree of patriotic interest, and, out of a large number of manuscripts submitted, the following article was adjudged the best.

The author, from a full and first-hand knowledge of her subject, and with a heart and brain profoundly stirred by Mexico's plight and the blindness of our average citizen as to her condition and needs, pleads her case with convincing earnestness. Her article is a human document of the first importance.

TO answer the question, "What is the matter with Mexico?" would be an immense joke if it were not so near the borders of tragedy, for it is practically answering the question, "What is the matter with the United States?"

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Three months before the War, I was unfortunate enough to predict a world war, with a reach for control of the Western Continent. Expecially am I confirmed in the opinion about the Western-World reach, at this particular moment, by the consensus of opinion from recognized thinkers the world over, compared with actual knowledge of present and past conditions in Mexico.

Undoubtedly, control of the Western Continent was the first reach at world-control, because it looked easy. Since Madero and his schemes became known in 1910 the United States had appealed to many nations as something of a fool, and there is a principle in foreign diplomacy, that one may take, without obligation on his part, anything his neighbor is fool enough to part with. Whatever may have been the underlying causes that brought about the Mexican row; however far back they may lie—since 1910, especially since April 21, 1914, the policy of the United States—together with the Mexican and European interpretation of that policy—has been to blame for the mess. Since 1914, there has been no clear day at all, despite the news.

When our policy became known, Mexican revolutionists said, "With the United States afraid to fight we can do as we like." Europe thought the same and started to establish spheres of influence while the United States napped. For the American Eagle sheathed his claws and took to "watchful waiting," while the wind which the Madero-child raised, turned into a hurricane.

In 1915 I was asked why, in speaking of Mexico, I seemed to blame the United States instead of Mexico. My answer was and is:

"What Mexico does or does not do is not my responsibility, provided she does not interfere with the United States or American nationals in Mexico, outside of the stipulation when the bargain was made that took them there. What the United States does or does not do is either my glory or my shame—it is pre-eminently my responsibility, because first, last and all the time, I am a YANK."

This should prove that what I say is not criticism of

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the United States, but a checking up of some of the things along the way we have come, so that, having checked up, we may either pursue that way further, or avoid it as we would a plague—but in either case go together voluntarily and consciously, as becomes a Republic having knowledge.

MEXICO FIRST TO EXPERIMENT WITH BOLSHEVISM

IT is plain that Mexico from 1910 on has been the first experiment in what we now call Bolshevism—the right to loot and raze and kill. With few exceptions foreigners there were not guilty of fostering this movement. Probably citizens at home were no more instrumental in serving it than were citizens of some other countries, but our central spring of action is more difficult to understand. What we do from a sense of responsibility others, unaccustomed to Democracy, go out and translate into rights, not infrequently into license. This was the case in the Mexican revolution. It was the vital thing not understood up here. More than this, it was our national trait of giving the other fellow more credit than his due, and an equal tendency to scourge our own to all sorts of lengths, that made America so susceptible to Europe and Mexico and the agents among ourselves.

In support of this contention I cite Helen Wayne's article of last March:

> "As long ago as December, 1917, I heard Lincoln Steffens give a most eloquent talk to some two-hundred and fifty club-women, presumably on Russia, holding them spellbound for nearly two hours, and all the while subtly preaching revolutionary socialism between the lines. If I had confided in any one of these women (except the sprinkling of pacifists, socialists, and semi-professional agitators, who understood the underlying motive of the impassioned speech) she would not only have thought me a little mad, but would have said so. Still Mr. Steffens, who has that magnificent quality of voice which is so musical and sympathetic that people are often swayed by it regardless of logic, was steadily inserting here and there some powerful (if specious) arguments for straight revolutionary socialism.
>
> "Here we arrive at the crux of the matter; it is through their very idealism, their desire to do the right thing toward people, that the shrewd propagandist can often influence high-minded American men and women actually away from common sense."

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And this perversion of ideas and facts is a part of the matter with Mexico.

In 1916, Lincoln Steffens lectured in Washington, on Mexico. He was the last, the fairest, and the ablest of three lecturers. I don't remember what the others said—it was the usual array of mis-information. But Mr. Steffens was so convincing with his adroitly arranged material, that I had at times to pinch myself into remembering, that, while each fact by itself might be true, his entire story was utterly false.

The lecture over, I asked him why he didn't give Porfirio Diaz some credit for the beginnings of modern Mexico. He replied about as follows:

"Oh yes, Diaz deserves credit—much credit—he did a great deal of admirable work; no one else could have done just that particular work."

"Then why don't you speak of it?" I asked.

Mr. Steffens said softly:

"Yes, some other time, I may. But you see there isn't time enough to say all the things there are to be said."

And this is a part of the matter with Mexico—there is never time enough to say anything about Mexico—save such things as will promote or bolster-up Bolshevism.

Later when it was reported that Mr. Steffens was in Washington to confer with the President and the Labor Commission from Mexico, I asked him why, if it was necessary to have such radical measures on labor and land, the movement wasn't put in motion first here. Mr. Steffens admitted the need of such measures in the United States, but thought: "The conditions were such there that it seemed easier to start it there."

"And when it is started, you expect it to sweep back up here and then over the world?"

I shall not soon forget the ecstatic look that flashed over Mr. Steffens' face as he replied:

"We hope so!"

And, this again, is a part of what is the matter with

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Mexico. It *was* easier to start it in Mexico—and it has swept back up here and over the world, because:

> "Bolshevism flourishes best in troubled waters. It propagates most rapidly in turbid social pools. It seeks deliberately to enlarge the numbers of those who are discontented. It fans the spirit of hatred. It rejoices in misery and crime. Strikes, sabotage, bomb-throwing, and terrorism—all serve the ends of Bolshevism. Little do academic socialists know what class-consciousness and class-hatred mean when translated into quick, violent action by simple-minded men who cannot indulge in intellectual refinements."

IDEALISTIC MEDDLING TO BLAME

ON the way up from New Orleans to New York, in the forced scurry out of Mexico, in May, 1914, I first encountered the ghost of John Reed. A lisping, blushing bride recommended him as an emancipator for Mexico—basing her belief on Reed's thorough understanding of Villa's character. A few days later a brilliant woman in the Liberal Club in New York told me:

"John Reed is an Idealist of twenty-three, from Oregon —graduate of Harvard—no knowledge of the practical world —the pen of a Kipling."

"What a combination to attack such a problem as Mexico!" gasped I.

I have not changed my mind about the combination even yet. It is such combinations that have much to do with "the matter with Mexico."

On the other hand, Gertrude Atherton has recently said: "Russia is a world problem, and one to be dealt with not by altruists, who are an infernal nuisance, but by practical and far-sighted men of affairs."

If this could have been said of Mexico in 1910—said effectively, so that a majority in the United States could have understood—the conditions would not be so chaotic as they are today. It is true it was said over and over by practical men of affairs on the spot in Mexico, but our people home did not understand. Almost the entire nation was obsessed by a principle, which was: "Those interested in a thing cannot be trusted to speak the truth about it."

From 1910-16 no other principle actuated Americans

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in anything like the degree that this one did. No one stopped to ask where a consistent carrying-out of such a belief would lead. They all rushed over one another like sheep, repeating all sorts of catch-phrases that should bolster-up this one principle, applied, as I have said, to one link in life's chain—the National link.

Mexico was the first place they tried it out. As a consequence, if they wished to find out anything about things below the Rio, they picked out someone who had neither interest nor qualifications.

Before going farther let us see where this reasoning leads:

"You can't believe what Americans in Mexico say—their money is invested and they are interested.

"You can't trust bankers about banking—they are interested.

"You can't trust blacksmiths about blacksmithing—they are interested.

"You can't trust scientists to tell the truth about science—they are interested in science," and so on, *ad infinitum*.

And you end where?

In the years I have mentioned, practically no one saw this; indeed they were one and all armed with clubs to knock on the head a person who did see it.

AMERICA'S BLINDNESS

THAT such a thing as this state of mental drunkenness could occur, argues to my mind but one thing—since I believe in an overruling power, and an eternal order of things—it was one of those times in the history of humans, when a levelling-up and a levelling-down was due, in order that humanity as a whole should be ready for a step forward. The eyes of those who had power to keep advanced humanity in check till belated humanity could catch up were held—blinded. The United States had great power, yet her vision was impaired.

This supposition I put forward—not as truth, that I would not dare—but as a possible explanation of a very

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strange occurrence. An hallucination which, while it functioned in some degree the world over, functioned at its highest rate of speed between 1910 and 1917 in America against American Nationals and intelligent Mexicans in Mexico.

In this shaking back and forth those responsible for the dreams were bound to come to the surface. That time is now—just at its beginning. Those responsible ones must be thumped—it is the law of cause and effect. The initial cause that brought the law into action must be found. To do this many of the Americans out of Mexico must serve as instruments—not in revenge—how foolish and impotent looks revenge in this day of vast death and suffering!—but in the furtherance of law; the law of cause and effect—God's law. These Americans have no choice—they must serve. Not to do so would be to start a new wrong cause, the effects of which would be so far-reaching that, despite any and all "Leagues," another war would be needed to wipe them out.

Frequently, as I speak of Mexico, I am met with the contention:

"But, that's in the past—anyone may make mistakes—what can we do now?"

We can't do anything intelligently till we know what has been done; we've got to find a base-rock to stand on. America can't make this particular kind of mistake twice. Our honor is involved, if not indeed our life.

The fact is, that while nations as well as individuals may make mistakes, the time has passed when either can shoulder results off onto the scapegoat of good intention—we are in a new day. When the causes that brought about the world's challenge to Kaiserdom became active, "Behold old things are done away with and all things are become new" came true in a vastly wider and deeper sense than we yet realize. But this much is apparent even now: the challenge to Kaiserdom was a challenge to Feudalism which rests on the ancient laws of Privilege, Substitution, Intent. That the world was unaware where and into what minute

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ramifications of social and national fabrics these laws led, has nothing at all to do with the matter. When a child sets fire to a house it burns down—unless the fire department arrives in time. That's our case with Mexico, and we've got to hustle the fire department.

"At the end we must conclude we have been led by an unknown power to an unseen end." Surely all thinking persons must conclude that from 1910 to the present time that has been our case. All of which may or may not be a long way from Mexico. I assure you it is not, for Mexico is one of those cases where "The longest way 'round" may well be "the shortest way home."

WHAT IS THE MEXICAN PROBLEM?

I AM not going to write of what kind of people the Mexicans are and how they came to be as they are. In the present state of issues it is folly to spend time that way. Mexico should have been taken as she stood in relation to other countries in that hour when her trial came—which for the sake of convenience I shall say began with the entrance of Francisco I. Madero, Jr., upon the scene as a Redeemer.

I have said I shall not discuss the kind of people they are, but I reserve to myself two quotations. A man long resident in Mexico said:

> "When the Spaniard grafted his stock onto the Aztec Indian the combination produced a people grounded in absolute distrust. Among the masses in Mexico, nobody trusts anybody."

The wife of an American Consul from Mexico said to me in 1915:

> "The Mexicans—meaning especially the Indians—for the upper classes are Londoners, New Yorkers, San Franciscans, Parisians, Viennese—anything and everything that well-bred, cultured people are the world over. The Mexicans are not Christian as we in the United States use that term. They are Pagans, albeit theirs is a beautiful Paganism, with a definite and admirable code of morals; but it is not the Christian code as we interpret it."

I thought of this woman who had learned her lesson as her husband fled for his life; hidden by these same Pagans with a beautiful code of morals.

In his book on Mexico, C. W. Baron says of a lecture

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given by Dr. Talcott Williams, of Columbia University: "Dr. Williams showed from first-hand knowledge and from fifty years' reflection thereon, that our boasted Christian civilization, whatever it might be in its endings, was in its beginnings a disrupter of states and nations." Further on Mr. Baron writes: "What then is the Mexican Problem? It is the problem of one civilization and one order, one rule and procedure, in contact with another civilization, another order, procedure and morality. This is the problem belting the world."

This is another part of "the matter with Mexico"—we of the United States have utterly ignored one of these civilizations—have lent our great power as a nation to crush it and its influence out.

If farsighted men of affairs in Mexico had been as bold—not to say brash and ignorant—as idealism and religion were in 1914, they would have said to the world of altruism:

"Do as much as we you curse have already done for these you call so down-trodden and we promise to go further."

Business, however it may seem to go astray, rests always and must rest on an ideal compounded of individual ideals of the people. When business is rotten, the hearts of the people are not clean.

Russia has shown us, as Mexico could not, that power is no more democratic and no safer in the hands of the masses than it is in the hands of the classes. Mexico could not show this for two reasons. She was the first in this modern revelation, and like all initiators she had to go down into the muck to bed-rock, to make a foundation-stone on which her successors might build. Also Mexico was too small.

There had come into the instincts of the people of the world a habit that I shall call the habit of bulk. If a thing were large and had evil in it, it was evil. If it were small and a chip of the same block it passed as of no moment, if indeed it did not pass as altogether good. There was an utter lack of perception between bulk and kind. About

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1912 this lack of perception had hardened into a rule of thought and action so as to become practically a law—a law that is in some, but constantly diminishing, degree active now despite the lessons that have been driven into us since 1914.

But although it may seem for a time necessary to punish bulk, for the sake of the remnant of illusion still persistent in the bulk—bulk itself does not constitute guilt or the lack of it—it is quality. No sane human being would deny that a grain of arsenic is poison as well as an ounce; yet, when it comes to business, it is only the big cheat we try to control. This is in one particular just. But, it is neither wise nor just to lie to ourselves as to why we do it. We do it, not because it is more evil, but because it is more dangerous in the sense that the danger compasses a greater number of people.

Wells says that before the war began, the English had "Domesticated everything. They had even domesticated God."

What Wells means by this of course I cannot swear. I shall mean:—The lack of understanding that attempts to measure the world in the fireside pint-cup, together with the licensed privilege to judge all that spills over as evil.

When Americans in 1910, 1912, 1914, 1917, 1919 called from Mexico: "Come over and help us!" they found themselves up against this pint-cup of domesticity—America too had "Domesticated everything," she "had even domesticated God."

HOW MEXICO WAS SLANDERED

PLAIN statements of things as they were and are down south of the Rio struck remarkably discordant into the lullabies of domesticity.

"Don't publish the title 'Barbarous Mexico'," the American colony in Mexico petitioned a New York magazine in 1912. The gist of the editor's reply—in fine print among the advertisements was:

"What sort of criminals are these men who shy at a mere

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title; why did they have to run away from their own country?"

Because all this railing happened to chime in with the domestic-chant, the people believed the magazine. Now the truth is, the Americans objected to the title most; knowing their Mexican friends they realized they would not stand for such an insult. The whole colony said: "Publish that title and you start a fire on the Rio Grande that you may not be able to put out." A very sane statement it looks in retrospect.

The title was published, and played no inconsiderable part in aiding Francisco Madero to raise a wind that since 1914 has been a hurricane. Students used it as a battle-cry. I have heard peons in the guarded gangs repeat the words in a way that is not pleasant for an American to listen to in an unsettled part of Mexico. The articles themselves were not true, although there was some truth in them. For instance, the abuses in The Valle National were made to cover all Mexico. The Valle National is comparable to only one other section of Mexico—*Quintana Roo*—both were formerly *Penal Colonies*. What The Valle does or does not do has nothing in common with what Americans, English or French do in the rest of Mexico. There isn't and never has been one of them there. But even The Valle was maligned. It isn't true that no one ever comes out of it. We lived within half a day's ride of it, and have had hundreds of Indians—who go into The Valle and voluntarily contract themselves—work for us afterward. Not a few of the others—contracted from Contratistas—have been in our gangs also.

I was told the magazine had stopped the series of articles because they found out "They were not well founded." But—it was too late—the only time to have done any good by the stopping was when the American colony asked it—before publication.

This waiting till four years or nine years afterward is one of the most vital things "the matter with Mexico."

To one accustomed to collecting atoms of information,

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writings on the world-war teach that, whatever else the war was for, "the Unknown Power that leads to an unseen end" used it to make alive the consciousness of the domesticated world. This livened consciousness has a shadowy instinct that the lack of bulk may not necessarily constitute righteousness. It isn't an established thing yet, but it has become troublesome and insistent.

Frederick Palmer says, "The real Pacifists are the soldiers. The Ypres salient should be kept intact for the education of their children." That reads, if it reads anything: "When Domesticity has again resumed her sway, we shall need Ypres to warn our children to the sane path."

Homes—family—so far as we yet know, are absolutely necessary to civilization. They are or should be quite apart from this thing Wells speaks of as Domesticity; however charming it is, considered in the white glare of give-and-take of outside life—once again the question of bulk and danger, you see—Domesticity is not necessarily honest. Probably it is the most dishonest-minded trait we have in modern life. It belongs to Feudalism; is founded on the law of charm and privilege and substitution. It is the exact law—served up in great bulk—that tempted to the reach-for-world-control.

It was this remnant of Feudalism that we, out of Mexico, went up against, when we asked for a fair deal. It was not alone deaf ears, it was contemptuous tongues—the ignorant, privileged criticisms of Licensed Domesticity.

WHY OUR NATIONALS FROM MEXICO WERE CURSED

WHO shall blame outsiders for judging America as America herself judged her Nationals? That America isn't treated the same, is because the outsiders can't! America, however she belittles herself, is very powerful.

As a nation we had lost sight of or perhaps had never recognized, if not our most dominant trait, at least one of them—ADAPTABILITY. Drunk with our initiative, flattered for that possession by the world, we failed utterly to know ourselves—the individual members of us—as at

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least abreast of the most adaptable of earth's people. At the time of Mexico's budding unrest; at the beginning of the world-war; up to the time "Pershing showed the world," we at home had little reason to recognize this side of us. The domestic side of us ruled us and shaped the horn through which we blew. This thing spelled adaptability is not in the domestic vocabulary.

Whether England's men individually are better fitted for the job of advance, unorganized, national guards in little-known countries than America's men no one can tell. For—England's men have gone out with the magnificent machine of National Understanding with which to work. America's men have gone into the fray with no such equipment, and have held their own. More than this—they did it in Mexico for some considerable time, cursed, hounded, disgraced and jeered at by the American Government backed by Domesticity at home!

Doheny spoke for them the other day: "Don't do anything for us, help the Mexican people. We can take care of ourselves."

That's it—give us back what you took from us and we will look out for ourselves and a host of Mexican peons and Indians also. We were doing it when you held us up.

There was a part of us that was not domesticated in this way—the Army and Navy, the Pershings, the Engineers, McAdoos big and little—oil and its Dohenys—the men who had shaped the tropical jungle to the most modern of businesses—coffee, rubber, timber, fruit and sugar—mines of all sorts with their consequent villages and small cities. These far-sighted men of affairs tried to set conditions fair before our people and the Government; knowing that it was they and they alone who could do so, but the only answers vouchsafed were such retorts as I have cited, and: "I have no concern for American dollars in Mexico."

Undoubtedly these, upon whom the experiment of Bolshevism fell first, can see more plainly than can others the way we and Mexico have come.

Supposing one of them even could have managed to

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say—say so as to be heard by the Government—of Mexico as Gertrude Atherton has of Russia: "Mexico is a world problem and one to be dealt with not by altruists, who are an infernal nuisance, but by far-sighted men of affairs," what would have occurred? With the temper of the domesticated part of us such as it was in 1914, there is just one thing that could have happened—he would have been beheaded—there are several ways of beheading in this world.

The United States was blind, and, as I have said before, it is my personal belief we may have been allowed to fool ourselves—whatever reasons we gave for it—in order to keep us from definite action till Far-seeing was levelled down and Domesticity was levelled-up to meet with balance a world-step forward. The many all over the world have travelled far since the forced hegira out of Mexico in 1914. Russia, unbalanced and dangerous as she is, will lead to a greater light for the world than would have been possible had the revelation come solely through Mexico and from 1910-19.

Gerald Stanley Lee says:

> "Looked at on the surface and looked at statically, and taken as it is for the moment, this huge, helpless, meaningless hop-skip-and-jump of attention leads to two discouraged conclusions. But looked at as a symptom, looked at as a moving and for what it is moving toward, it has come to me to be an amazing hope for my people. The finger of the world pointing out to forty nations the way they have to do it. It has in it a hope and an outlook for the forty nations, of which I had never dreamed. It presents to us four astounding facts in what is really a new psychology for nations: Looking—All looking—All looking at the same thing—All looking at the same thing at the same time!"

Taken in this light the seemingly unnecessary sacrifice of foreigners and Mexicans in Mexico was a doing away with some that all might attend. Then why the cursing and reviling of Americans who came out of Mexico?

Because the leaders didn't dare let the people of the United States know there had been a sacrifice. When she understands, America must always have a good reason for the sacrifice of any of her people. She has always demanded it. There wasn't any good reason—the experiment of "a land without law" had to be tried, and the irresponsible

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wind that idealism had raised didn't stop for the proving—it grew into a hurricane.

A woman sent me an editorial recently, from a Socialist paper, asking: "How do you like it?" I quote the main part:

> "These foreign exploiters of the Mexican people, in alliance with the half-savage Diaz, were responsible for the worst and most brutal type of slavery in the Western Hemisphere. They deserve to lose every dollar they invested in the spiritual and physical assassination of Mexican peons and city workers."

QUICK ACTION IN MEXICO NECESSARY

I DETEST it of course, just as I detest any other sort of injustice and lies. The whole article is intended to inflame the well-intentioned ignorant. It is founded probably on the following—evidently by C. W. Baron, in a Wall Street paper:

"There is every indication that the situation south of the Rio Grande will require attention as soon as the more pressing matters involved in the Peace Treaty have been adjusted."

This is not Mr. Baron's opinion alone—it is the belief of every intelligent Englishman, American, Frenchman, who knows Mexico!

Recently, while Señor Candido Aguilar and George Creel's publicity bureau were shouting "All's right with the world" of Mexico, a certain American property was in process of sale for half the value of the land to Spaniards. Things had gone so far as sending papers to the United States for final signatures—upon the return of the papers the Spaniards would sign finally. But, meantime, the Spaniards heard that bandits were tearing out brass and copper and selling it to the government—although it was not intimated the government knew where it came from—they sent down to find out. No one but a peon could get within eleven miles of the *finca*—upon his report the Spaniards called the deal off. The middle-man who had the trade in hand wrote to the American officers:

> "Sorry—will try again, but there's not much hope; that amount of money isn't found frequently in Mexico these days.

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You will pardon me for saying you have your own government to thank. If it had left Huerta alone—I don't mean recognized him; that was America's particular kettle of fish—but if it hadn't hounded him out, your manager would have managed somehow to stay here and hold things together under any and every president who might have come to the chair. When you landed in Vera Cruz as you did and blew out as you did, you spilled the beans."

An officer of another company not far away from this *finca* went to his place the other day. He wrote to said manager:

"I don't see that the bandits have injured the river any —that's about all that's left on our place—no one can get to within eleven miles of your place."

Of course it is to Aguilar's interest to withhold the truth if it isn't good. Mr. Creel, in a Philadelphia weekly last June, writes:

"Another explanation necessary, in the interest of both fairness and understanding, has to do with the manner in which Americans acquired their oil holdings in Mexico. The majority of people in the United States are firmly of the opinion that these men won to possession of vast tracts of land by some corrupt agreement with Porfirio Diaz, and that all of them hold and develop by virtue of concessions. I myself believed this implicitly until a somewhat heated debate with Edward L. Doheny, met accidentally at an Irish tea in London.

"Out of his denials and challenges came a new investigation on my return and with these results. Not a single American company or individual in Mexico holds any concession from the government of Mexico, and not a single American company or individual in Mexico is developing oil, or has developed oil on any land but that acquired from private owners by straight-out purchase or fair lease."

Yea—my Lord! But it's too late—nine years too late! Like the little boy who brought news to Napoleon at Ratisbon—"We're killed, Sire!"—a Maker of Destiny, after nine years of riot and ruin in Mexico, had to go to an Irish tea-party to find out the most vital truth about the relations of American Nationals to Mexico—the one fact above all others, which, perverted and lied about, has made Bolshevism possible in Mexico—because thus garbed it enlisted the sympathy of "Domesticated-America!"

And, if we may believe Mr. Creel, this belief holds in the United States—"Down to Gehenna and up to the Throne!"

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And this is a part of the matter with Mexico. The truth has never been allowed, and Mexico has reeled to her doom through lack of it.

THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICAN INVESTMENTS IN MEXICO

THE New York Socialist editor takes the ground that American properties in Mexico are owned by Americans resident there and that these Americans are plutocrats. Neither is true. There are immense properties owned by non-resident individuals, or a private company, as oil, by Doheny and Cowdray, mines by the Guggenheims, ranches and mines by Hearst, a big English syndicate owning a cotton plantation managed by a New Yorker, etc. There are many others—especially plantations—owned by comparatively, or actually, poor people who have never been outside England, France or the United States. Added to this there are some settlements where the owners have pooled their interests—some of them putting their affairs into the hands of a development company, others managing among themselves—all resident in either case on the property, each having a small residential plot.

As a Yank I shall speak for Yanks.

Take the first class—mainly sugar, coffee, rubber, lumber and cattle.

I shall speak of the conditions in sugar because I know most about it, and it employs as many men at a single time as do any—but the vital questions are as true for one as they are for another. However large these plantations are, they are owned by small investors in the United States—teachers, ministers, clerks, all sorts of wage-earners, not excluding the scrub-woman who cleans your office by night. All are represented, but nearly all have this in common—they are like-minded to the Government employee in Washington, who once wrote me to sell his stock if I could, but if I thought it was likely to make a return in the near future of fifty cents on the dollar and was as safe as the Bank of England, to advise him to keep it.

There we have it—the righteous pint-cup of domesticity judging Americans in Mexico and expecting them at the

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same time to negotiate a deal that will pay fifty per cent and be safe.

On the "Refugee" ship up from Mexico in 1914, an American Consul advised me to put what I had into Northwestern mortgages and be content with five percent as nothing else was safe.

Another prevalent idea is that Americans have no business off their native soil and, if they are off, they have no right to appeal to their Government no matter what happens to them. This is entirely a misconception of international affairs, and national necessities. Not only have Americans as much right to go to foreign countries to make their way as have other peoples to come to America, but in some degree it is as necessary. It is not true that there is room in the United States for all her people. There are always some in every nation who do better by being transplanted, and we are no exception. Then, too, it is as necessary to the trade of our nation that her Nationals shall settle in the waste places of earth, before the regular trade goes out to garner, as it is for other Nationals. England thanks her Nationals for going; Germany prods hers into getting there quick, and sees they are fitted for the place. As for calling for help in stress—it was the agreement between the United States and Mexico, when American people were invited by the government of Mexico to come in and invest, that American Nationals, as other Nationals, should be protected, provided they did not transgress the laws. It was understood that our country should protect us. For the United States not to do so was going back on her word—that is a thing the United States does not do. For that reason we have always believed there was something of portent, not as yet divulged, which would sometime explain her failure to do so in this instance.

It isn't for their "skins and their jobs," just as skins and jobs, that American Nationals ask and have asked America to assert herself sanely regarding Mexico, it is that American Nationals are at once a part of America and a part of the great foreign-business machine that gives

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opportunity to the poor of Mexico if they are to have any chance at all.

So, when Doheny said, "help them," it was tantamount to saying, "make order so work can go on for everybody."

THE BOGEY OF "EXPLOITATION"

IF Americans are to do their "higher-duty" in this new world, there are some things we must get over. One is this fetish of exploitation. I don't mean to advocate exploitation of any kind—I know too well that it has to be paid for; an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But we have gone mad on this subject—especially in Mexico. There isn't more of it there than there is up here or in any other part of the world. It may be franker down there—they are more apt to call a spade a spade. So far as American enterprises are concerned, much of the exploitation was done in Chicago, New York, Boston, Minneapolis, Washington, D. C., etc. A vast deal of the money collected for these companies never reached the plantations. It went into mahogany offices up here, or into something else. If we wish to be honest, we must face this situation, and admit that it is as criminal to exploit poor Americans as it is poor Mexicans. We must do away with that subterfuge, grown so dear to our hearts: "Two wrongs do not make a right."

Another thing we must learn to do without is the belief that God has given the morals of the world into our keeping. Another that the higher classes of Mexico are "half-savage." I shouldn't think of applying that epithet to the most unschooled peon in Mexico. They have for one thing a marvellous patience that has nothing to do with submission. They are no more submissive, as we translate that word, than they are Christian as we translate that word. The Anglo-Saxon will have to work at that matter of patience for some incarnations more, before he can approach the dignity of the Aztec Indian.

But most of all we must wake up to the fact that the world has changed and every component part of the machine has changed.

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Domination and the desire for it seem likely in time to pass into the desire for power *so as to be of use.* To say that the foreigners in Mexico were among the first to catch this new trend of things, is not to boast, but only to say that at the vital moment when the change took its decided swing, they were on the spot of all others where two civilizations met most sharply.

The means through which God—the Power that overrules—speaks are not always the same. It seems now as if business—those organizations much be-damned but marvellously efficient—were to be held responsible for the next step ahead. Business is now so organized that, in any tight place, it must give aid in order to exist. This takes it out of the Feudal system of patronage and puts it into the modern system of reciprocity. Compared to any other missionary it is a little offensive. A fair business is a wonderful convincer.

This word—fair-business—brings me back to Mexico, the Americans in Mexico and their particular sins according to the Domestic Pint-Cup. Before the Madero Revolution, foreign business men in Mexico had found out from their necessities some things that their nations as a whole had to go to a world-war to learn.

Whatever up here may have been given as reasons for condemning such men, it was this *foreknowledge*, more than anything else, that made them a stench in the nostrils of their fellows at home and the Government. It interfered with the policy of "Watchful Waiting," which one writer has interpreted as not a question of: "How shall I solve that problem?" but rather, "How long will it remain unsolved?"

For the telling of those things, Americans in Mexico were muzzled. The muzzles have not been taken off yet—I prophesy they will not be till manipulation has proceeded far enough to allow of Mexico—done up as a new pill—being forced down us at a gulp.

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Unless there is a big nigger-in-the-wood-pile not yet revealed, this has been the policy regarding Mexico.

Lucille Wetherell's vivid depiction of conditions in Mexico, particularly relating to the so-called "peonage system of slavery," labor conditions, American interests and remedial suggestions are concluded on another page of this issue.

OCTOBER

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

Like huge, stately candles
Burning through the rain,
I have seen the golden-rod
Catching flame again.

I have heard the sparrows
Gossip under eaves,
I have watched the crimson death
Of the falling leaves.

I have heard the shouting wind
Throw rain on my door,
And all the October day
Wished for nothing more.

Now in this wooded exile
Night comes on like tide;
I hear God in my garden
Among the blooms that died,

Promising resurrection.
God, may I not know,
The bright flame of October,
Wherever my soul shall go?

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A DISBANDED LEAGUE OF A NATION

(Second Prize)

REVOLUTIONISTS:—"I must quit now. There are no more Americans to murder."

CARRANZA:—"You're not going to quit. You are fired!"

—William P. O'Hare, Cambridge, Mass.

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WHAT MEXICO IS STRIVING FOR

HER GRIEVANCES AND ASPIRATIONS

An interview with

HIS EXCELLENCY YGNACIO BONILLAS
(*Ambassador of Mexico to the U. S. A.*)

THE case of Mexico has been so unjustly presented, by so many partisan lawyers of the world, that the Mexican Ambassador himself is exposed to the charge of being merely a representative of such deceitful and private interests as may be uppermost at the time in the general impressions about his native country. However, I am not going to be discouraged by this judgment of Mexico, because she has been used as fruitful soil for the political intrigues of other nations. It is because her present Government was never so prosperous or so firm in those standards of national honor, standards that are made of more substantial ideals than those attributed to her, that this impulse occurs to state frankly what the case of Mexico is.

Briefly, Mexico is accused of seeking to become an independent nation.

Contrary as this purpose seems to be, in fact, to the wishes of some other nations, especially of those stronger and perhaps wiser nations who have in their greed for speculation persistently declined to recognize the national policy of Mexico, the Carranza Government has successfully maintained a plan of nationalization that is based solely upon a desire to make of Mexico a solvent, just and fair-dealing member among the family of nations. All that we in Mexico ask today is such good will and practical confidence in us as we ourselves desire to demonstrate to the rest of the world.

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CARRANZA MEXICO'S SALVATION

IN seeking for the solution of what is termed the Mexican problem, I feel personally that it rests with the undisturbed authority of the Carranza Government. I have worked side by side with Señor Carranza for a number of years. I have been with him in many secret councils, at many conferences held with representatives of foreign powers, and I know the brain and the heart of the man, as few do. This is a statement made in the face of denials, of criticisms, of false accusations and deliberate mis-statements about him. But, if not today or tomorrow, sometime in the future Mexico will achieve the purpose which many other greater nations have struggled for in their national inception in the history of the world, because Carranza and his followers have clung to the cause of independence, of national liberty, and all proper reforms.

When Huerta usurped authority over Mexico in the most violent manner of murder and blood, there were assembled in the states of Coahuila and Sonora groups of men who had no ambitions for political power, who were not of military temper, and who had no inclination or interest in banditry. Carranza as Constitutional Governor of the state of Coahuila, with his brother Don Jesus (who was assassinated by the reactionary Santibañez during the revolution), Generals Pablo Gonzales, Cesareo Castro, and others in Coahuila, and Generals Alvaro Obregón, Salvador Alvarado, Benjamin G. Hill, Manuel M. Dieguez, Plutarco Elias Calles, Ignacio L. Pesqueira, and others protested immediately in the state of Sonora against the hideous crime. I was at the time (February, 1913) a member in the State Congress of Sonora and supported strongly the protest against the usurper Huerta. Obregón was a mechanic and farmer; Gonzalez was a miller, and the rest were engaged in industrial and professional pursuits without any political interests except to deplore the revolutionary upheavals of our country caused by the despotic sway of the governing classes.

Señor Carranza was the man that he has always been,

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whose love of Mexico and her people was the emotion and the fire of feeling that belongs only to the born patriot.

When the news reached Coahuila of Huerta's crime against legitimate law and order in Mexico, Carranza declared it to be his duty to give his every effort and his life if necessary to avenge the honor of Mexico which had been violated by Huerta. Obregón was one of the first in Sonora to offer himself in the service of the then First Chief Carranza. He came from his farm with the men he had in his employ, and pledged himself with them to the cause of liberty and justice for Mexico. So, among others, I found myself in the thick of such guerrilla warfare as the formation of the Mexican country compelled in all fighting, sharing a desperate cause with poor equipment, with complete lack of any moral support from other nations, with guns that were often minus breechlocks. During these days of the revolution against Huerta, the guiding strength of our mutual struggle was the spirit of patriotism which Carranza maintained. He, too, was exposed to such temptations as have operated in Mexico for a hundred years, temptations of bribery, of treachery, of lust that such men as Villa, Zapata and other bandits by profession and character have freely accepted.

IN COLLUSION WITH A CORRUPT CHURCH

REVOLUTIONS in Mexico have occurred because they have always been easy to organize. Our border line is very long for us to police with the limited resources of arms and ammunition at our disposal. Our coast line has never been defended by adequate gunboats or marine service. It has therefore been very easy for anyone to smuggle hired equipment and contraband arms into Mexico. As a nation, Mexico has never been permitted, through certain methods adopted by private speculators, to establish a permanent, stable government. What governments have existed, with rare exceptions, have usually been despotic, as, since the conquest by Spain the governing classes in collusion with a corrupt church and the military element

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have imprisoned Mexico in their own selfish and grasping authority. Public education has been purposely discouraged, so that the natives of the peon class have remained ignorant peasants. Nations, like individuals, have their faults, but the faults of Mexico have been purposely created by former governments because few governments, until the present one, have ever cared what became of the peon class. Therefore, due to the incompetent management of previous governments, the impressions of Mexico have never been a reflection of the Mexican character as a whole, but the consequence of corrupt, despotic authority. Then, too, Mexico has been exploited, shamefully mistreated because of her great natural wealth, and her comparative inability to protect herself. She has been the hostage of unscrupulous speculators, who have seen the advantage to them of her own weakness, and have used her for their own financial profit. Because of these unfortunate situations, Mexico has never been properly understood. By degrees the lower classes of Mexico have fallen into the habits of a man, who, being discredited, placed under universal suspicion, has lost faith in his own soul. Such conditions have been brought about for him. Crush a man by threats and false accusations of character, intimidate his efforts to assert himself, starve him by over-taxation and oppression, show him that his life is of no consequence, and he becomes what you deliberately make of him.

THE MEXICAN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST

HOW many Mexicans have been killed on the border, with as little concern as if they were not human beings?

As is well known, it had become common practise once upon a time to regard killing a Mexican with a very low degree of human interest. I say this frankly, with profound regret, so that some of those who still insist that the Mexican is an outcast, may better understand the ideals of the present Government which is pledged to restore Mexico as a nation struggling towards democracy, and not as public ground for unlicensed speculation.

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Discrimination against the Mexican has sometimes been made on the grounds that he has Indian blood in him. That should not count against him in the United States, unless there is the same purpose in such discrimination as exists against the Indian in America. It is an important part of the present Government's policy to bring about equality of rights in Mexico for all Mexicans, Indians as well as others.

Discrimination has also been made against Mexicans because they are supposed to accept bribes, because they may steal. There are bad men all over the world; bandits practising different methods from Mexican bandits, who are attacking the present Government of Mexico.

The principal enemies of President Carranza and the Mexican Government are not in Mexico; they are in Cuba, in Spain, in the United States, in France, in England. The real struggle of Mexico to become an independent nation is not confined to suppressing the outrages being committed by bandits in Mexico against American lives. Its struggles extend to those powers in finance and unscrupulous speculation who aim to arouse through popular feeling against Mexico—armed intervention! Let us consider this statement a moment.

THE PETROLEUM REGULATIONS GRIEVANCE

RECENTLY a great protest was made against a regulation of the Mexican Government that no more oil wells should be bored without the proper permit. This was immediately interpreted as an effort to restrict the supply of oil that the markets required, which was entirely untrue. The annual capacity of oil in oil wells in Mexico today is over five hundred and eighty million barrels. The annual production of oil in 1918, totalled sixty-four million barrels, and there was absolute freedom of exportation. In the face of these figures, why protest against a regulation for conservation of oil in Mexico, unless the purpose in demanding these rights in Mexico was merely to keep the price of oil up by entirely false declarations? All permits

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for boring can be obtained by agreeing to submit to any future national, general legislation.

Another grievance against the Carranza Government has been excessive taxation. There are two principal taxes on the oil industry in Mexico; a surface tax of one dollar per acre annually and an export tax of ten per cent on the value of crude oil exported out of the country and three per cent on refined products. The so-called royalty tax on leased oil lands or on production has never been enforced. It is at present suspended until final legislation of Congress enacts a petroleum law.

Charges of confiscation have been made because the national government has insisted upon retaining national rights in the exploitation of the sub-soil. This is a protective measure, adequately sustaining the national policy of the Government to impress other nations with the determination of Mexico to retain control over her own territory, which policy is not uncommon and is being advocated the world over.

SUSPICION HARD TO COMBAT

THESE are important arguments of economic grievance upon which various propagandas of suspicion and accusations of bad faith on the part of Mexico, are being made. To sustain these exaggerated charges of exorbitant taxes, every unfortunate circumstance of social unrest in Mexico is made tributary.

Suspicion is the greatest menace the present Mexican Government has to overcome, and it is the easiest form of propaganda to create. It seems inconceivable that a Government and people which have, in spite of almost unsurmountable obstacles, demonstrated a desire for liberty and order, for an independent republican sovereignty, should deliberately jeopardize their relations with the greatest of free governments like the United States, by acts of murder and atrocious crime. And yet, it has been charged that soldiers of our regular army have done these things.

Mexico is struggling for nationalization, for political,

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social and economic reforms, and she must endure a propaganda of suspicion and treachery until she can emerge into the splendor of older and greater nations that have endured similar persecutions and oppressions, for such seems to be the unavoidable path to national greatness.

ACHIEVEMENT

By ARTHUR WALLACE PEACH

Where deep the plow sinks
Best the seeds take hold;
Where deep the shaft drops,
Appears the brightest gold.

From springs of darkness,
Shut from wind and sun,
The coldest waters
In crystal rillets run.

And so do fate and failure
Search the hidden soul
Until, unshackled,
The spirit finds its goal.

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A NEW BRAND OFFERED

UNCLE SAM:—"Try one of mine."

—Prize Cartoon by J. W. McLaren, New York, N. Y.

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A SOLUTION OF THE MEXICAN IMBROGLIO

RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH A COALITION ADMINISTRATION

By WILLIAM GATES

EVERY nation in the world has its own troubles and its own problems—its sore spots and its reactions. The day we begin to try to learn what these are for the Mexican, we are on the highroad to the solution of the whole question—without armed intervention.

What is needed is knowledge, and then knowledge, and then more knowledge. Not mere knowledge of the number of Americans murdered and property destroyed or confiscated; although those things are part of it. It must be knowledge of political and economic questions within, as they appear to the Mexicans: why they are fighting, and for what. Some do fight for loot and mere "badness"; but to say that that describes a nation of fifteen millions, including ten million peaceful, tractable Indians, praised by nineteen out of twenty Americans that come in contact with them, betrays a profound ignorance, and a faculty of judgment little creditable. In this country today we have a quite appreciable percentage of the population definitely desirous of disorder and destruction not only of property, but of the rights of the peaceful majority, and of the social order itself; a percentage sufficiently grave to have become a very real menace. But we do not on that account despair of America, or say that such percentage represents us as a whole.

Then we must next have knowledge of how we rub the Mexicans—not just instances of how they rub us. We must have knowledge as to many facts concerning what Mexico lacks in order to restore prosperity and stability. All these indeed we must know; but above all, we must know the

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human element in the problem—or success will never come.

This knowledge, to be useful, must come to us in successive stages, for we have been appallingly ignorant—and indifferent to knowledge; some parts must come first, that we may understand how to make use of other parts. And since the key to this problem lies in this knowledge, this very request by THE FORUM for articles in competition, becomes itself a part of the solution. While the condition that the solution must exclude "armed intervention," itself makes for the right solution: for Intervention may be undertaken without knowledge of the problem, but no other step toward its resolution can be.

As a preliminary let us settle this matter of Intervention. The Administration does not want it, the Republican majority does not (for their platform is retrenchment of expenses and war inflation), and the great mass of the people certainly do not. The great force pushing toward Intervention is simple ignorance.

WHAT INTERVENTION WOULD MEAN

APART then from the special circles whose object by Intervention is really the annexation of Northern Mexico, including Lower California—plainly put, a war of conquest against a weak and exhausted nation at our gate, what is the object of Intervention to the average American? Simply that, Mexico having after six years of the Carranza régime been reduced to chaos and misery, and unable to restore herself, we shall go in with an armed force, set up a stable Mexican administration of honest Mexicans, at whose side in their ensuing task of national rehabilitation and reorganization, we shall with our power and resources be the stabilizing center, giving just that amount of protection and assistance needed, and no more; and finally withdrawing with at the most a sort of "Platt Amendment," which in this case shall mean no more than that if the forces of evil and disorder again become too strong for those of honesty and national safety, those forces shall again have us to meet. That is what "Intervention" really signifies to the great mass of Americans.

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We can do one of four things, namely: Nothing; let Carranza and Mexico alone, and keep on doing it. Enter with an armed force, with the purpose of staying there; Conquest, however disguised. Intervene, as defined, with the object of rehabilitating Mexico under the administration of the best Mexicans we can find to install, after we get there. Try to accomplish the same result without actually sending an armed force over the border, except (possibly) temporarily at the invitation of the new Administration. We can proceed on either of the first two lines without knowing a word about the "Mexican problem." The kind of knowledge essential under the third, would be identical with that needed to effect the fourth; and we might find, after we had studied the problem with the third purpose, that the fourth would come of itself, to our great honor, and the saving of many lives, and much future trouble, certain to be engendered by either of the other three ways.

These, then, are some of the facts we would learn in our search: First, that there are many different kinds of Mexicans, morally, intellectually, and racially. That is a commonplace, once it is stated; but the contrary is impliedly asserted in every scare headline, and in every line one is asked, Is it possible to form a stable and decent government in Mexico?—or, Are there any Mexicans honorable, capable and patriotic enough to be trusted? That there must be such, and that there are, can be answered by any man worthy of consideration who has been in Mexico, and especially by those who have come to love it, as so many of us do. It is best met by the other commonplace, that the best and real people in every country have no press-agents, whereas the profiteer, the bandit or the agitator is always sure of a headline; also that these latter folk quite regularly maintain both propaganda and a censorship, as their nature and aims require.

OUR IGNORANCE OF RACIAL AND CASTE BARRIERS

BUT the most important part of the ignorance is that touching the multiplicity of racial and caste barriers that divide Mexico into so many "closed circles." Mexico

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is indeed a "federated res-publica," with nominal manhood suffrage; but government is in practice purely feudal, and such is the concept of the state and its functions held by the few aristocrats at the very top (or by whatever party happens to be in control of the offices at any given time), and also by the immense "proletariat" at the bottom. The better middle classes, moderate in number, with education, have a concept of liberalism and democracy, toward which they struggle to take the state. But by their liberal democratic character they lack the impulse to "dominate others,"—the force that makes dictators. Yet it is from this (now for five years voiceless) element in Mexico, that we must bring out the element to redeem her, if we are not to take it wholly on ourselves. The aristocratic element looks on the "ten millions" as part of their "estate."

INDIAN PROBLEM A GREAT ONE

THE Indian problem is the one great problem of Mexico; no solution can ever work out that is not based on its resolution, and on the bringing of that element into economic independence and responsibility. And just that problem is the one that no one in Mexico has ever taken real care for. Her great Liberator, Juárez, was a full-blood Zapotec, but his tasks in repelling the French Intervention, and giving Mexico her "Laws of Reform," left no time for this issue. By natural inheritance it has not been easy for men of pure Spanish blood to make this their task, though many individuals have, and do now, realize and desire it. Under the old colonial days it was long debated whether Indians should rank as "reasoning beings"; when it was legally established, it was only with a qualification that placed them under the "tutelage" of the Church, morally and intellectually, while economically they remained practical serfs, save where abandoned to uncivilization in the forests—a condition to which they constantly tended, to escape the other status.

The Indian in Mexico is a very different man, and involves a very different question, from his race-brothers with us. Descendants of highly civilized nations, quite reasonably

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the equal of the European at the time of the Conquest, save in the "will to conquer" as we put it today, they are in numbers ten millions, one-fifth of whom do not even speak Spanish. They are not dying out; rather is it true that the old varnish of the Spanish aristocratic colonialism is disintegrating. The Indian is faithful, clean, stable, self-respecting, and essentially moral—where he has not been in too close contact with the cities; and the enormous majority have not. To save Mexico, the Indian must come back; he must become in fact what he is in name: a man, a citizen, and an economically independent householder. No other solution for a people of ten millions is conceivable; and the regeneration must be economic, and yet carried out with full recognition of that intense racial, as well as local pueblo, communal sense.

To every one who has studied Mexico in these last days, the constant parallel with Russia comes forward. The Indian has something near that Russian communal sense, expressed in the "mir," and any reconstructing plan, any effort toward democratic and modern economic education, must start there, and work outwards. The Indian of the interior of Oaxaca, Chiapas, or anywhere in fact, is not concerned with the distant governmental Sun that shines in Mexico—at least until it burns, as it has so often done, and is doing now. What interests him are the affairs of his town and household. Build there, and you build the Indian, and with him put Mexico on the map of stable states; but just that no one has ever yet done, for that purpose, or with desire to bring him back.

In this question the many racial divisions, involving the widest possible differences in ability, habits and wants, must be known. There is the semi-wild Yaqui of the north, the "Montenegrin" of Mexico; the central Aztec, the east coast Totonac, the west coast Tarascan (and others); the capable Zapotec of the south; the forest-living Tzentals in the southeast, near Palenque, yet a descendant of the great Mayan race, long ago the most civilized of all American races—great mathematicians and builders; the peaceful, yet

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sturdy Mayas of Yucatan, tending ever back to their forests in the interior, to be and remain "Maya."

MUST CONSIDER MEXICAN PSYCHOLOGY

NEXT in our list of matters to be known, whether we would make a success either of Intervention, or of Rehabilitation, is the Mexican psychology—what he reacts or responds to. For that we must meet him day by day, and still more, we must study his past history, and what have been the past influences, and the past grievances that have brought him to his present. We must try also to understand what he has been struggling for—for is there a race that has not its aspirations, or its race-consciousness? And right here we will come upon the one great fact which will be either our stumbling-block or our stepping-stone. Ever since the coming of the whites four hundred years ago, the Mexican man has never known what it is not to be exploited and directed, from outside or above his own circle. And while this exploitation was of course economic in object, it was political and "human" in method. At times this exploitation has been from an outside country, Spain for three hundred years, France and the Austrian Archduke for three—until we got rid of our little trouble, and indicated the Monroe Doctrine. Many times it has been due to the rapacity of foreign money-lenders, wherein, thanks be, we have had little part. Let one who is interested study the immoderate growth of Mexico's debt, through corrupt loans, negotiated by temporary dictators, cases where the country paid 33% a year for a loan which profited only the officials in power, or where sheer weakness forced the compounding of outrageous spoliation claims—if he would have some sympathy both for the country, and for the resultant psychology of reaction to this sort of oppression.

On this point, while we have some Americans now whose attitude is as conscienceless as any of their predecessors, let us be glad to say, without any exaggerated national egotism, that as a whole the coming of Americans has brought prosperity (especially to the Mexican man, the

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worker—though also to the country). For our genius seems to be to exploit machinery and organization (which is really genuine *production*), rather than men. We like to do things, to work; or, as a Mexican once said to me, "We both like money, but you work for it, and we like to make others work for it for us."

This Mexican reaction against "exploitation" became Carranza's battle-cry that by confiscation he might build his Pan-Latin dream, by his German-Socialist alliances, for our ejection; meanwhile reducing his own country to a lower abyss of misery than she has perhaps ever known, while destroying a hundred millions of property, that ten millions might duly reward the patriotic entrepreneurs.

Let us next learn, that all through Mexico's hundred years of independence there have been sons of hers who have struggled as earnestly as ours, and against far greater odds, to bring her on the road to a real democracy, faced by this inherited weight of autocracy in method, resulting in the constant explosions. If we would once learn how much she has done really, we would rather want to lend aid, than to criticise and "Intervene" to tell them how, once more.

Two things go with the Mexican: an order, given by one in place of recognized power or authority, is accepted automatically, until it is abused to the point of rebellion, which then becomes the right; and in all other cases the smile, the polite word, accomplishes every end. These two facts hold both with the Spanish and with the Indian element. The man who would be respected in Mexico must be sure to respect himself; he may show it by the word of authority, or by the smile—from both of which weakness must be absent. If you go in, you must go either with authority, or as an *accepted* friend; if you stay, you must stay as a friend. And if you have to help, you must do it not with patronage, but with consideration.

WHERE AND HOW RECONSTRUCTION SHOULD BEGIN

WHEN we have gotten this far upon our road of knowledge we shall probably find our attention becoming concentrated upon the specific problems of reconstruction,

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where it should be. And at this point we shall quite surely begin to look about for our right and capable men, around whom as a new Liberal Mexican administration the new order shall begin; this whether we are still thinking of Intervention, or simply of Rehabilitation. We shall also look about for them with quite a feeling of assurance that they are to be found. Of course, certainly. And looking about in that spirit, it is quite sure that they will be.

At this point one unescapable fact comes in: Mexico *is* destitute, just as are many other countries in the world today; and in need of a stabilizing center, around which to hold during the recovery to strength and health, and to protect her and the work itself from enemies both within and without; forces of re-domination, of destruction and disorder, of too easily-inflamed ignorance. It is another commonplace that we must keep our own hands clean, to succeed. Also—to be *received* with honor, and for co-operation.

As we are starting with a new administration, this assumes the previous cessation of the present Carranza régime, an event now too openly imminent to be denied. This automatically disposes of the illegally imposed so-called "Constitution of 1917," with all its attempted confiscations of foreign-owned properties; the real constitution, the platform of all the "revolutionary" forces operating against the Carranza dictatorship, becomes again *ipso facto* operative, just as ours would after a similar experience. That at once brings back operation and reconstruction of innumerable great development enterprises, irrigation projects, etc., with work and a new life. If we are standing behind the new administration, not to control but to assure, the railroads restored to their owners must be rebuilt and re-equipped. These things alone will go a very long way on the upward road.

The writer believes that the refunding of the debt, with the incident matter of a further loan—that is, the major financial operations—should be deferred at least six months after the new administration begins. It will be then much

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easier for Mexico, if she has responded, and she must do so under such circumstances; we can meet her needs with greater knowledge and confidence, which means better terms. Interest and the debt has waited six years on disorder and destruction; let it wait six months upon rehabilitation. Do not think of at once giving the new administration an extra hundred or two millions, tied down with all the onerous and sentiment-antagonizing conditions that could be thought of now. The "Mexico" we shall then be dealing with in the capital will not be the "Carranza-Mexico" that has brought the country to its present pass, made up from those who have with scanty resources, cut off from sea and railroads, been fighting for their country and her laws. We can afford to be more considerate in manner with them. Perhaps we can also afford to save them for awhile from the burden of resisting less worthy elements in the country, in an effort to enter again into the newly equipped and endowed house, for selfish ends, were there too much money too soon to be spent. We are not altogether proof against similar temptations ourselves.

THE ONE PARAMOUNT ESSENTIAL

TO the writer's view, the one paramount essential in the whole problem of reconstruction lies in the union of the two absolutely necessary parts of the Mexican problem—her restoration to economic life and prosperity, and the bringing to the front, as a self-conscious part of the state, of the Indian. This does not mean to seek to make him a sophisticated city-dweller; let him remain an Indian farmer. But send experts to make his farming more profitable to him—and so to the nation. Do not bother to give him automobiles to ride in, or Montessori schools as Alvarado is trying to do in Yucatan. Study his local industries, and find ways, apt to his character, to improve them: better ways to tan leather, and the like. Make him a large consumer of the things that he will first want to make his life less grinding: kerosene lamps to lengthen the day, whereby home-weaving or other work can go on, or reading when the impulse comes, as it will when all this stimulates it, and

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education is really begun; sewing machines, and machines to grind the maize. Bring water to the villages that lack it; undertake a national and local good-roads enterprise, growing by its own force, as it brings the farmer and the remote village, and the market, each nearer the other. Coffee in the interior returns to the grower at times five cents a pound; the Indian carries 50 to 75 lbs. on his back for two days for 50 cents; and often his crop will not buy enough for his family's food. Solve that problem, as a plain business proposition to be sure, making auto-truck roads into feeders for the railroads; but above all with the primary object of making life more possible for the ten million. In short, send abroad wherever necessary, and bring experts as in our Reclamation service. And do this for the sake of the Indian, that he may become a man and a citizen. And do all this as a long-sighted plan, wherein it will go on producing its own expansion cost, as our Reclamation and Forestry services have done.

As all this goes on, seek to stimulate local interest, in these local enterprises; and especially seek to have as large a part as possible of this taken to the Indians in their own languages. Nothing will weigh so much to give trust and firmness to it all; and the writer is willing to guarantee to find a fair number of young archeologists, engineers or foresters, ready to take up these native languages we are now studying externally, and go out to do such work for the sheer love of doing it.

Utopia? Not in the least, but sheer necessity and obvious practical facing of conditions. It must be done some day, if Mexico is not to remain a nation of ten millions without education or hope, exploited by a few at the top in the same old way, be they Mexican or foreign; an explosive center of retrograde inheritances, struggling in the midst of Democracy and modern economic life. But this last also it cannot be forever; for these ten millions, with their preserved racial consciousness as Zapotecs, Mayas, Yaquis, are exactly like the suppressed races of the late Austrian Empire. The life in them has not died; they have only been suppressed

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and those of us who know them, believe in them, for while some of them will hardly make much progress, many are equal in capacity and possibility to any of those others in Eastern Europe.

A JOINT-PLANNING COMMISSION NEEDED

OF these two great questions in Mexico's future, the economic and the social, thus uniting in the practical work-out, it is not a question of whether it can be done or not; it must be done, whether we now see how or not. And again ignorance, with indifference back of it, is the pregnant cause of failure to meet the needs of the problem.

After study and acquired knowledge, then must come co-operation. With technical aids, and in consideration of the world-wide nature of the new problems all nations now must face, I see no reason why there could not be a sort of joint-planning commission, to see that all went well. There will be many international problems to work out, promotive as well as financial; and I have wondered whether a corresponding council might not be the bridge from chaos and destitution to an honorable and safe position in the world of states—say of three men, a Mexican, of course, and an American since the resources must come from us, and a Frenchman because of the natural Latin sympathy and connections, as well as the present and future interests involved.

To sum up, then, the writer's belief: It is possible to form a new Mexican administration, by a coalition of all the decent and patriotic Liberal elements, that will initiate a policy of reconstruction, with our accepted help not only in mere money, but work and co-operation. This new administration can be made to command the support of all the main armed elements against Carranza: the States of Oaxaca and Meixueiro, Felix Diaz and his supporters, the Zapatistas, Pelaez, and even Villa and Angeles. To protect such a rehabilitating Mexican administration, a stabilizing center must be had, but not of the despotic type; we

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can with our friendship and resources become that center, and yet in a way that will not violate Mexico's independent political self-determination, nor submit her to conscienceless and usurious financial control.

STRANGE FACES

By JEANNETTE MARKS

There!
That is the face for me,—
That face I shall never see
In this world again!
All that I miss is there,
Touch of life and its kiss!
O, mysterious love in our heart
Found for us both as we pass,—
As we part!

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THE HOPE OF MEXICO

When Mexico sees the light.

Prize Cartoon by Walter Wilhelm, Wheeling, W. Va.

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A TONIC FOR MEXICO

A PLEA FOR PEACEFUL ARMED OCCUPATION

By ARTHUR STANLEY RIGGS, F. R. G. S.

EVEN the coldest of logicians must admit that, so far as her foreign relations are concerned, Mexico has not one sound brick in her national structure. That Mexico presents to the United States a problem of the gravest sort cannot be denied. The causes of that problem are fairly familiar in a general way, but the remedy that can effect permanent and satisfactory solution of such an irritant —not only to ourselves but to our increasingly impatient and restive transatlantic neighbors—is something yet to be adduced.

The underlying reason for Mexico's condition today is to be found as far back as the days of the Spanish Conquest. Spain built up her vast colonial empire by force of arms, chicanery, exploitation of the native, oppressive legislation, confiscatory measures of many sorts, and a supercilious refusal to admit that the native was human in the same way as the Spaniard. The consequence, however delayed, was inevitable. The whole colonial structure crashed into ruin. So far as Spain was concerned the result was good, as it saved her from utter moral and spiritual disintegration. The inhabitants of the unfortunate colonies, however, were affected in precisely the reverse manner, and, in the case of Mexico, the oppression had been so severe and of such long duration, that, before the people could recover what must have been their original manhood and reason, new oppressors from among themselves arose to tyrannize, exploit and disregard them. The consequences we are reaping today. Through all the years that have elapsed since the breaking away of the country from Spain, only one régime has had either permanence or stability—that of General Porfirio Diaz.

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But the Diaz Government—like that of the later unlucky Huerta, whom we hypocritically refused to recognize, and so deprived him of any chance of success—was like the ancient Spanish system in that it took no account whatever of the people. They were creatures who existed to make life easy for the ruling class, they were cannon fodder, they were slaves, they were spineless, passionless, senseless ignoramuses fit only to be kicked about and used as recklessly as a spendthrift uses money. General Diaz maintained order, preserved amicable foreign relations, and gave his country a specious prosperity and tranquillity; but it was the calm that reigns in the crater of a slumbering volcano, and with Diaz out of the way, with no iron hand to control, chaos immediately ensued. The fundamental weakness of the Diaz régime has been, of course, that it was non-moral, and as a consequence Mexico was bequeathed neither political integrity nor coherence. The years that followed have been crammed with violence, banditry has run unchecked through State after State on an appalling scale, instability is everywhere, graft is flagrantly unashamed in the highest places, and there is, as a matter of fact, no real government in Mexico today. There is chaos—and Villa.

VILLA—A DEMON-SAINT

FRANCISCO VILLA and Robin Hood of the Sherwood Forest legends have something in common. To the Mexican peon who never heard of the English knight of the clothyard shaft and his merry men in green, Villa stands as a demon, between a saint and a king, a devil and an intense patriot. He is the natural expression of revolt, and he will go on unchecked and unpunished, in all likelihood, until a different policy is adopted toward him. Carranza cannot catch him—that much is certain. Carranza has tried, and failed. Now and then Villa gives part of the Constitutionalist army a sound thrashing, accepts some of its men who desert as members of his bandit tribe, and hangs or shoots the rest. But the Constitutionalists are no nearer

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to disposing of Villa today than they were when they first tried to corral him and his ubiquitous "army."

Our own foreign policy toward Mexico at the present writing is hardly likely to be more successful than the Carranza efforts. We have placed an embargo upon arms and military supplies, ostensibly for the benefit of Carranza. The net result will be that Villa will have to smuggle more adroitly and pay higher prices. To get the money, he will bleed suffering Mexico so much the harder. But the notion in some political heads that forbidding the importation of materials of war into the country will put a stop to that traffic is childishly inept. Gun-running is a fascinating amusement, not without its profit, as our old friend "Dynamite Johnny" O'Brien testified on more than one occasion; and what has been done will be done so long as there are adventurers who love danger and excitement. So instead of helping Mexico solve her problem, the United States has actually complicated it, and added to the already intolerable burdens of life in that unhappy country.

I have said nothing of the losses of life because they are merely incidental to the general condition. True, we are not pleased to hear that an American farmer has been butchered before his wife's eyes by bandits who rob under Villa's leadership. We dislike the news that another American or British property has been destroyed, or the manager forced to contribute thousands of pesos to the insatiable highwayman. But the confiscatory attitude of the so-called Federal Government is even more disturbing, because it represents the putting into action of the new "Constitution" framed by an American radical acting as adviser to the Government, and defies both our protests and the vaunted Monroe Doctrine.

WHAT IS REALLY THE MATTER WITH MEXICO?

WHAT are we going to do about it? First of all, however, what is really the matter with Mexico? William Allen White asked the same question about Kansas years ago, and answered it in the famous pronouncement

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that when she stopped raising hell and began to raise corn, she would be all right. That illuminating statement applies precisely in the present case. But how is it to be managed? A long and intricate analysis of Mexican conditions might be made, surveying clearly the chaotic political, industrial, agricultural, financial and military predicament of the country; yet in itself that would be no guide to a solution. The root of the matter lies deeper than any present conditions, so these may be entirely disregarded, save as indications of the malady to be cured. It requires no extensive humanitarian prognosis for the intelligent observer to see what will eventuate if someone does not interfere to give Mexico what she so desperately needs. And there are almost parallel cases by which we may estimate the disease, diagnose the cause from the symptoms, and help Nature to effect a complete recovery.

The whole story is bound up in two words: *Ignorance, Poverty.*

The solution of the problem is to cure the ignorance, and the poverty will in due course be largely eradicated by knowledge and a modicum of wisdom. Twenty years ago the task would have been considered well-nigh impossible, that is, for a neighbor-nation to undertake with the slightest prospect of success. Today, out of our current experience, we know it not only is not impossible, but perfectly feasible, would be reasonably expeditious, and most probably both positive and permanent in its results. So patent is this to him who runs that three or four years ago, when the Mexican question became momentarily acute, it was my privilege to send the suggestion embodied in the following paragraphs to President Wilson with the notion that it might possibly assist him in unknotting the tangle before him. The letter was acknowledged—and Mexico continues to rob, burn and murder with impunity.

SAME REMEDY NEEDED AS WITH FILIPINOS

THE obvious comparison is the Philippines. In 1898-99 we conquered the Archipelago. By 1901 we had occupied it, and committed ourselves nationally to an experi-

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ment in education so apparently wild that the rest of the world was openly incredulous. By 1904 the system had been extended throughout practically the entire chain of islands; and today, fifteen years after we had a really going system, the eight millions of Filipinos want complete independence, to say nothing of demanding admittance to the League of Nations on a basis of practical equality. To those who, like the writer, were in the Islands during the early part of the formative period, and knew the people intimately through contact on their own ground, the result argues sure and speedy success for a similar plan in Mexico.

The Filipinos were not a nation by any stretch of imagination, but a collection of tribes, speaking innumerable dialects, filled with furious jealousies, utterly disorganized and upset by warfare and revolution, and with no more idea of what independence or self-government meant than they had of whale blubber or snow-pudding. They hated Americans and despised any of their own people who began their schooling with the idea of doing something of practical use in the world. The path was thorny and full of boulders. But we won, because in the first place we were right in attempting to be our brothers' keepers, and in the second place because we were not giving something for nothing. We were making the native study and improve himself. The change in the Islands and their people has been miraculous. What we did in our inexperience, we can do even better now, having experienced and willing hands to work a fresh miracle.

The task will be delicate at first. The millennial ignorance of the Mexican peon, and even of the upper classes, is probably so ingrained that with the present generation it may be possible to do comparatively little. The youngsters are the hope of the country, the plastic material which will take shape like wax and be adamant to retain the advantages only America can confer. The simplicity and relative cheapness of the scheme is its only drawback. Let somebody suggest a dynamic financial and efficiency board to enter and run things, backed up by bayonets, and the

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country will accede—however ungraciously—to whatever demand be made upon it. Suggest anything as simple as a scheme by which Mexico herself will pay the costs, and also provide American teachers with salaried positions, and opposition will be furious and determined. Nevertheless, the idea is well worth the consideration of even the conscientious objectors.

ARMED OCCUPATION BUT NOT INTERVENTION

MEXICO has shown that she cares little for veracity, that she is wholly irresponsible, that such a thing as a genuine public opinion does not, and in the circumstances cannot, exist, and that her governing class is both weak and vicious. There is only one conceivable way by which the trick can be turned: *force majeure*, as the French put it. Mexico knows that we have a veteran army of more than two millions who have seen actual service, and a reserve, partly trained, of another equally capable million or more, and munitions, equipment, supplies, and the plants to produce more in plenty. We have a tremendous navy, also veteran. The moral pressure we can exert, if we see fit, is overwhelming. A demonstration in force before the principal Mexican ports with our combined Atlantic and Pacific fleets, or such parts of them as might be deemed useful, backing up a declaration of American policy, stated in such unequivocal terms as would permit of no withdrawal on our part, would prove convincing and effective, especially since our record in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines would bear out our pronouncement. But such a policy cannot be inaugurated or prosecuted in any such half-hearted way as the Vera Cruz incident or the pursuit of Villa. Before we embark upon such a course, we must have our minds really made up.

With that mental steel to grip the situation, the rest would go forward swiftly. Mexico would be told in plain Spanish—not spoken by a Norwegian politician, either—that we meant, first and foremost, her salvation, and that to secure that, she must agree to allow us certain safeguards.

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Parts of our Regular Army must be permitted to take station in certain sections commanding the entire country in a strategic sense, so as to ensure the peace. These troops would import their own food and supplies, interfere in no way with the course of life or the occupations of the people and their government, so long as order was maintained; and they would be paid by the United States. No military intervention would be meant or contemplated. It would simply be friendly police assistance on a big scale, and nothing even remotely resembling war.

AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS TO HELP

THE peace of Mexico being thus assured for such a term of years as should be agreed upon, proper elementary and secondary schools would be established throughout the country, including even those parts inhabited by the Indians whose savagery and cruelty—perhaps also an inheritance from the days of the Conquest—has hitherto prevented any serious efforts being made toward anything but exterminating them, a compulsory education law on very broad lines passed and enforced rigidly. The teachers would be selected largely from our veterans of the Philippine educational campaign, and from others qualified by instruction to teach, and by their knowledge of Spanish to work in a Spanish-speaking country. These American teachers should be incorporated in the United States Civil Service under special provisions, and enrolled for terms of service similar to those exacted in the Philippines, with salaries adequate to the increased cost of living, which has recently gone up in Mexico about two hundred per cent. The system should be complete in every detail, just as it was in the Islands, with a Secretary of Education in the Mexican Cabinet who should be an American, fluent in Spanish, and having an authority not to be overridden by the Mexican official family. Anomalous as his position would be, the results of his work, and the benefits which would begin to accrue from it almost immediately, would

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go far toward making the other Cabinet members at least civil and glad to help rather than to obstruct his efforts.

Among the schools would be at least one, perhaps half a dozen, normals, in which Mexicans would be taught to to teach after the most modern methods, thus equipping the present generation to carry on worthily the work after the Americans have all been withdrawn. And one of the conditions and special terms of the Civil Service regulations for the American teachers would be an arrangement by which, on the expiration of his or her contractual term, the teacher would have the option of further service, a year at a time, only so long as no Mexican teacher was fitted and available to assume charge of the classes in that particular school or district. This rule, applying throughout the country, would result automatically in getting rid of the Americans as fast as Mexicans were able to assume the former's duties, thus avoiding any charge or suspicion that the Americans had come to Mexico to remain indefinitely. Something to be remembered is that the example of the teachers, their standard of cleanliness and self-respect, the very food they eat and the clothes they wear, would all help amazingly.

The textbooks could be those in successful use in other live Spanish-speaking countries, if Mexico insisted on such a point, though it were better to have accurate translations made of the best standard textbooks written in the English language, since these latter are more forceful, more direct, more modern in every way, and better adapted to give quickly the result desired. These results would be hard to see in the first year, perhaps. They might be the same as in similar Philippine conditions. In one case, in Pangasinan province, of which I knew personally, the people, regardless of the compulsory education law, refused to attend school because they were suspicious that the Americans meant to enslave them. The teacher, a wide-awake young New Englander, made them a sporting proposition. He told them all he wanted was to benefit them, and asked if they would believe in his education if he could befriend

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them first by doing something a man without education could not do. Unwillingly they agreed, and under his direction built a road—the schoolhouse was closed and deserted meanwhile—between their town and their nearest neighbor, straight as an arrow-flight through the jungle. It was broad and level and good enough for carts even in the rainy season. And it was five miles long. The tortuous jungle trail they had used for centuries was impassable for any vehicle in the rains, and it was always more than nine miles long. "Now," the teacher said, when they had finished, "you see what you can do for yourself when you know how. This road is only one of innumerable simple things you want. Come to school, and learn everything!" They came, old and young, the whole community, and less than three years later they had an almost model town, well governed, interested in its own welfare, clean, wholesome in every way, and sending its young men and women down to Manila for more education.

THE WHOLE THING "RIDICULOUSLY SIMPLE"

THE whole thing is so ridiculously simple that no objection is valid for a moment. The cost? Mexico will pay that—pay it far more easily than she could pay for a war! Our temporary police garrisons would see to the collection should force become necessary; and while they were cooling their heels up in the mountains, or developing thirsts down in the desert posts, they could conduct military schools and teach the Mexicans something about the proper development of the physical man and the rudiments of scientific warfare.

Gradually, one by one, the American teachers and soldiers would quietly drop out, Mexicans take their places, and the change from alien direction to domestic control prove so gradual and easy it would come without a hitch. Last of all, when the American Secretary of Education gave place to a Mexican Secretary, it is a safe hazard that the Mexican Government would vote the retiring American at least its official thanks, and go on developing in the lines

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that turned eight million Filipino tribesmen into a nation; that gave Cuba political calm and commercial integrity, and that set little Porto Rico firmly in its proper station as a rich, productive, contented community with high ideals and splendid, increasing opportunities for an unlimited future, moral as well as material.

It is, I think, fairly evident to anyone who watched the Philippine experiment develop into an achievement which marked an epoch in colonial history, that the conditions in Mexico will prove less arduous, the work less dangerous and exacting, even among the uncouth Indians of Yucatan, than it did in Luzon and her sister islands. For instance, all the Mexicans speak some Spanish, even if only a word or two. All the Filipinos did not! And any American teacher whose feet became chilly could warm them actually by walking home! Philippine teachers couldn't do that across half the water in the world. Oh, it can be done if we want it done!

Do we? Or shall we sit still while murder, robbery and outrages go on—until England sends a fleet and an army and cleans up the opposite side of our street? Or the Germans, with their vast new colonizing schemes, turn Mexico within half a century into a newer, more determined, more ruthless and terrible Vaterland, right here in our own continent?

TO AN AVIATOR

By JOHN A. MILLS

Sailing away with no thought of care!
Leaving dull dreams to the earth below.
Sailing away on a sea of air,
Knowing such thrills as a bird must know.
Higher, and higher he winds in flight;
Farther, and farther till out of sight;
Till the purring sound of his engine dies,
Swallowed and lost in the maw of the skies.

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AT THE WINDOW ON THE BORDER

PERSHING:—"Shall I go back?"

—Prize Cartoon by William Bengough, Chester Springs, Pa.

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MILITARY PROTECTORATE FOR MEXICO

THE VIEWPOINT OF A NATIVE TEXAN

By HON. C. B. HUDSPETH
(*Member of Congress from Texas*)

I AM in favor of establishing a military protectorate in Mexico to save the lives of American citizens there, because experience has shown that only when our khaki-clad boys cross the Mexican border in pursuit of Mexican murderers is there any degree of safety, even for those of us who do not live on Mexican territory but at El Paso just across the Rio Grande from Juarez, a Mexican hot-bed of revolution and attack.

There are those who, enjoying the privilege of American citizenship appear to defend the Carranza Government of Mexico, and insist that Carranza can "starve those revolutionists into submission."

While there may be political intentions in some of the discussions of the Mexican problem, personally I have only one fault to find with the Democratic administration of Mexico. The latter has been no more positive in the policy of armed intervention than were the Republicans. Although they have severely criticized the Democratic management of Mexican affairs, it is not my intention to dwell upon the political aspect of the Mexican problem, because I live too close to it to consider the political issues of the question so important as the remedy—the defence of American lives against Mexican atrocity.

The whole question is greater than any political issue, but I assume from recorded facts that if the Democratic administration of Mexico has been dilatory in bringing about armed protection in Mexico such as I should like to see, Republicans have equally failed to adopt such a plan. It may be remembered that William Howard Taft was President for more than a month after Huerta declared

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himself President of Mexico over the dead body of Madero, and he failed to give his recognition to Huerta who had secured his office by treachery and assassination. Mr. Taft, Republican President of the United States, permitted Americans to be shot down by Mexican bullets on the streets of El Paso, my home city, and Americans fell like hail on the streets of Douglas, Arizona.

When this was reported to Mr. Taft, who remained President over a year after Madero began his revolution, the President's answer to 25,000 Americans, who had their property and everything at stake, was: "You get out of Mexico," because the American Government could not extend them protection.

Mexico has long been a test of political sincerity, as far back as the days of that soldier-President Ulysses Grant. The record shows that during the Administration of Grant there were fifty-two raids made by Mexican bandits into United States territory, and on one instance the troops of Porfirio Diaz pursued revolutionists into Texas and shot them on American soil, and a note sent by Secretary of State Evarts to the American Ambassador, Mr. Foster, was the only action taken by the Administration, which was Republican.

BY WAY OF CONTRAST

BY WAY of contrast, let me demonstrate an incident that happened under a Democratic Administration. On June 18, 1886, an American editor, by name, A. K. Cutting, was in prison in Juarez, Mexico, charged with defaming a Mexican citizen named Medina. He was denied bail, and on July 29, 1886, was sentenced to one year in prison and to pay a fine of $600, and also was to respond to civil damages. The Secretary of State, Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, on July 22, 1886, sent the following wire to Mr. Jackson, the American Ambassador in the city of Mexico:

> You are instructed to demand of the Mexican Government the instant release of A. K. Cutting, a citizen of the United States, unlawfully imprisoned at Paso Del Norte.

A few days later Mr. Jackson wired the Secretary of

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State that his demand had been denied. Immediately the President of the United States ordered General Stanley, Commander of San Antonio, Texas, to proceed with his troops to El Paso, with further instructions that unless the American citizen was placed on the International bridge at noon, on August 18, his guns planted on the hills north of Juarez would fire upon the town and his troops would enter the city. The Mexican Government saw that this Government was not to be longer trifled with, and Mr. A. K. Cutting, under escort of Mexican soldiers, was taken to the International bridge and given his freedom.

This was done by a Democratic President—the red-blooded and great American Grover Cleveland. He put the fear of God into the Aztecs south of the Rio Grande, and this is what should be done by our Government at the present time, and it does not necessarily mean war.

Conditions south of the Rio Grande are well-known to me. I was born and reared amid the honeycombed rocks and cacti and sagebrush of western Texas. I rode the ranges for many years. I went up the trail. At one time, as a peace officer, I used to run down Mexican cattle-thieves and bandits. They used to ride into the country along the Rio Grande and drive off our cattle. And we used to go back into Mexico and get them. At the mature age of 21, I was elevated to the position of a statesman in the legislature of Texas. For 16 years I served as a State Senator and Representative, and passed on numerous questions that confronted the legislature. I drafted the bill to organize the Rangers Home Guard to protect the border against Mexican cattle-thieves, which resulted in a force of 1,000 Texas Rangers. I have seen El Paso spring from a nondescript village of straggling adobe shacks to a modern city. There is every reason and argument why El Paso should have become what it is. In addition to being the gateway to Mexico, it is also the commercial center for northern Mexico, Arizona, West Texas, and New Mexico.

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MEXICAN REVOLUTIONS EASILY STARTED

LET me briefly review the revolutions in Mexico. It doesn't take much to start a revolution in Mexico. One Mexican steals a cigarette from another and it starts a revolution. I know Mexican revolutions. The average Mexican revolutionary army is a strange and weird sight. You will see breech-clouts, bows and arrows, men with sandals on their feet, and every character of gun, from an old flintlock to a modern Mauser. The average Mexican revolutionist can live for thirty days on a tortilla a day, and when the tortilla is gone he smokes a cigarette stump, tightens his belt, and is good for thirty days more. Yet they talk of starving them out. That's what the Mexican revolutionist is, and when you read about Mexican revolutions these are the kind of people to be seen in them.

The way these revolutions occur are interesting to recall. In 1911, Francisco I. Madero rebelled against the government of Porfirio Diaz. Madero was a stock-man who lived across the Rio Grande from Eagle Pass. I knew him personally. He traded and trafficked with the cowmen on this side of the river, and everyone of those old pioneers will tell you that Francisco Madero was an honest man. He made good his contract and his word was his bond. Madero was a dreamer, however. He was a spiritualist. He believed in communing with the spirits, and when the spirit told Madero to make a move, he moved. Madero dreamed of a democracy in Mexico. He had been educated partly in the United States. He dreamed of a government in Mexico like the great government of the United States, but his people were not ready for that kind of government. The first battle that he fought was at Casas Grandes, south of El Paso about a hundred miles. He was defeated, and then invested Juarez in conjunction with Pascual Orosco and Pancho Villa.

It has been asserted that we made a mistake in not recognizing as the head of the Mexican government this bandit for eighteen years, this outlaw from the Diaz Government, Villa. After three days' fighting they took the city of

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Juarez, and then shortly afterwards Diaz, who had reigned in Mexico for thirty-eight years, abdicated and went to Spain. With the abdication of Diaz all factions came together and centered on Francisco de la Barra as a Provisional President of Mexico pending an election. Madero was chosen, and he took charge of the government in the spring of 1912. De la Barra went to Spain. He is now in Spain. Madero, out of the kindness of his heart, unsophisticated, never having been engaged in politics, called all the factions together and said, "I am your President, and I want to harmonize all factions."

He called Huerta into his presence and, after Huerta had crossed his heart and placed the Judas kiss upon Madero, pledging allegiance forever to him, Madero made him commander-in-chief of the federal army. Soon after Madero had taken the reins, the red-flaggers revolted against him, commanded by Pascual Orosco and Inez Salazar, and they commenced operating in the northern part of Mexico, in the States of Sonora and Chihuahua. Huerta and Villa drove them from the country. Huerta was a military man. He had been educated in the military schools of Mexico and Spain. At this time friction commenced between Huerta and Villa. Huerta sent Villa in irons to the City of Mexico and placed him in prison. At that time Villa could not write his name, and he scrawled upon the whitewashed walls of the prison "Francisco Villa," and today he can only make that scrawl. That is Villa. It has also been stated that Felix Diaz is the man to quell Mexico's troubles.

HOW MADERO WAS TRAPPED

IT HAS been said that Diaz has an army of 40,000 men Felix Diaz never had under him at any one time over 400 men. This same Felix Diaz, after acknowledging allegiance to Madero started a revolution at Vera Cruz. Madero sent a portion of his army over there, subdued Diaz, had him brought back to the City of Mexico, where he embraced Madero and placed the same Judas kiss upon Madero's brow and in every way renewed his allegiance.

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Later, he was placed in command of several divisions after Huerta came back from the north, and for the second time revolted against Madero on the second of February, 1913, by starting a revolution in the City of Mexico. He captured the arsenal, turned upon the Mexican palace, and Madero put Huerta in charge of his army against Felix Diaz, and for days they fought. After about five days, Huerta summoned his bodyguard and appeared at the palace where Madero and Pino Suarez, the Vice-President were, and demanded of Madero that he sign a paper acknowledging Huerta president. Madero was a brave man, he saw the trap that had been sprung for him, and he immediately secured a pistol from one of the guards to spring upon his assailants, but was struck down from behind with the butt of a Mauser rifle, placed in a dungeon with Suarez and that night these two were foully murdered. Their bodies were taken through the streets and thrown to the dogs in some secluded spot in the outskirts of the city. This is the man we have been told the Americans should have recognized instead of Carranza, which we did not.

AS TO VILLA

NOW, as to Villa, whom it was also suggested should have been recognized in place of Carranza. I am not going to defend Mr. Carranza. I have a personal acquaintance with him, have had to confer with him about matters that affected the two towns of Juarez and El Paso.

As to Villa, on one occasion I received a telegram from our Secretary of State, directed to Villa, that he return to a certain American his property. I went over to see Villa, and it happened on the same day that he murdered in cold blood the British subject, Benton. I did not know that he had murdered Benton or I should not have been there. I presented to Villa the telegram. He was in a great rage. He arose and threw the telegram on the floor and stamped on it, and said: "You say to your Government that I have no respect for it. You say to your President that I think he is an old woman. You say to your Government because I

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have no respect for it, I will not grant any of its requests. Your soldiers are cowards, and they will not fight." I shook my finger across the table at him, and I said, "There will come a time when you will respect my Government, there will come a time when you will find out whether the so-called 'Gringo' army, the American army, will fight."

That time came on the 17th day of last June, when the American troops crossed the River at El Paso, when shots were falling into my city, fired either by Villa or Carranza, I know not which, and threw the shrapnel into Villa, and he ran into the mountains of Chihuahua.

Carranza was formerly Governor of Sonora, and his minister of foreign affairs is Candido Aguilar, his son-in-law. I believe this celebrated cabinet officer of Mexico is now in Spain or France. He was a milk-boy, living near Vera Cruz, when Carranza went down there, after Madero was assassinated. He became Carranza's body-guard and married Carranza's daughter.

There is not a single case on record, in ten years, where a Mexican has been punished for taking the life of an American in Mexico, or any punishment of any kind visited upon a Mexican by the Government of Mexico for outraging an American woman.

A great deal of political capital has been made out of the fact that Huerta was thrown into prison by the American Government. It was even inferred that he died in a dungeon in El Paso. I don't think it is important where Huerta died, but the facts are that he was in jail only six days. He died in his magnificent home, worth $20,000, on West Boulevard, El Paso, six months after he was released from a short jail sentence. There is a handsome tomb in Concordia Cemetery over the grave of Huerta, on American soil.

IMPERTINENT DEMAND OF CARRANZA

CARRANZA'S demand for an apology from the American Government for the entrance of American troops into Juarez on June 17th, last, to quell a revolution in that city, is an impertinence. I uphold the Secretary of War, in sending

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those troops across the river to protect American lives in Juarez. For eight years this town of Jaurez, having a population of 20,000, just across the river from El Paso, has been in the hands of first one band and then another of Mexican revolutionists. We go to bed in El Paso with Juarez under one government, and wake in the morning to find it under another, and in almost every instance the transfer has caused loss of life in El Paso. So far as Carranza's protecting Americans, it is my opinion that he has neither the desire nor the ability.

Carranza has utterly failed, through criminal negligence, to protect Americans in Mexico. After his chief lieutenant, Obregón, had been a guest at a banquet given him in El Paso by the business men of my city and invited Americans to return to Mexico under the protection of Carranza's Government, eighteen of our best citizens accepted that invitation and left for their mines in Chihuahua. They were murdered by Mexicans at Santa Ysobel, whether by Villa men or other bandits, I do not know. Their bodies were brought back to El Paso mutilated in the most fiendish manner.

It is time for this Government to say to both Carranza and Villa:

"You must keep your unholy hands off of my subjects, and if another American life is sacrificed at your hands I will put my armies into your country and visit upon you the wrath of a long-suffering and outraged people."

I thoroughly endorse, therefore, the Emerson Resolution. It is as follows:

> The Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to use the military forces of the United States in Mexico in the protection of the lives and property of citizens of the United States that may be in Mexico.
>
> The Secretary of War is further authorized and directed to keep the military forces of the United States in Mexico for the purpose of protecting the rights of the United States citizens in Mexico, until some responsible form of government is established in Mexico, that will protect the lives and property of United States citizens.

I am irrevocably pledged to a policy in Mexico that shall establish an American Military Protectorate over American lives now unprotected.

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INJUSTICE IN MILITARY TRIALS

WHY JUDICIAL PROTECTION IS IMPERATIVE

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL T. ANSELL

WHEN the victorious A. E. F. were drafted for the war, there was naturally in the great civilian material from which it was made very little consciousness of what military law meant. Although the War Department did its best to instruct the new soldier as to his responsibilities to it, there was naturally very little understanding of exactly what military service meant, beyond defeating the Germans. They did not know that the War Department differs from any other executive department of the Government, because it is a hierarchy under the War Department which governs every human being occupying a military status. It lays down a definite code, supplemented by military orders, to which it says every man must conform. If he fails to conform, it is a crime. They indict him and charge him with that crime. They try him for it and execute a sentence which follows upon conviction by a military court, called court-martial. Obviously not only the civilian understanding of law in each man's character is under control, but the conduct of every man is governed.

The court-martial tries a man not only for his military conduct, but for the violation of any penal code under the law of the land. When we come to subject a man to a code of penal law which covers every aspect of his conduct, every activity of his life far more intimately than does the usual civil penal code, when we try him not only for violation of the military law of the land, and we give him punishment equally severe, and as final, as any civil trial court can give, there should be some judicial protection for that man even though he is under military law.

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INJUSTICE IN EXISTING MILITARY LAW

THE application of military law, under which courts-martial are operated, and the application of criminal prosecution in civil criminal courts differs so flagrantly in elements of human equation, that from the time I was attached to the Judge Advocate General's Department, I felt keenly a degree of injustice in the military law.

There have been from fifteen to twenty thousand cases of punishment ordered by courts-martial among our American soldiers. Most often these men have received harsh and unjustifiable sentences, imprisonment with dishonorable discharge, the death penalty, which in spite of my own knowledge, as an army officer, of military propriety, I considered as beyond the scope of human justice. By established custom, it has been the settled construction and practice of the War Department to regard as final the judgment of courts-martial when approved by authority appointing the court. It has been held by the Judge Advocate General that such sentences could not be reviewed or set aside by the President or any department of the Government. There could be only interference with the sentence through clemency, which would not remove the stigma that the court-martial had forever placed upon the man sentenced.

Shortly after I came in charge of the office, in the absence of General Crowder, a case came to me which challenged my attention. As I remember it, there was a regiment of field artillery stationed somewhere in Texas. In those early days of the War, our young regular officers were just coming into high command. This particular regiment had fallen under the command of a very young officer, not long out of the military academy. The men who were accused were also under the command of a very young officer, the command being a battalion. The men accused were all non-commissioned officers, and were found engaged (perhaps in the company street) in "shooting craps," or some such form of gambling amusement as that, no doubt in violation of the usual camp order. They were

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ordered to stop. Perhaps the obedience was not prompt, but no serious refusal was made. The young officer who gave the order put the accused men in arrest. The next morning when the officer came down to drill his command these non-commissioned officers were not at their place of drill. He sent for them, and they told him that they thought there was a general regulation that a non-commissioned officer in arrest should perform no duty—at least none except by order of an authority who could dispose of their case in arrest. The officer ordered them to drill, and they still refused, relying upon what they regarded as their rights under military law. They were told their conduct was mutinous, they thought otherwise and respectfully said so. They were tried for mutiny. The charges were preferred by the young officer, and were sent to the department commander, and by him a court was ordered for the trial of these men. They were convicted of mutiny, or mutinous conduct, and sentenced to imprisonment ranging from three to eight years, together with dishonorable discharge and the forfeiture of all pay and allowances.

LEGAL CONTROL OVER COURTS-MARTIAL NEEDED

WHEN this case came to be reviewed by our office it presented such gross illegality and deficiencies, when judged according to law, as to require a setting aside of the judgment. Under the established rules of the War Department, however, nothing could be done in those cases to modify the judgment of that court-martial. As this was the beginning of the war, we knew there would be many others like it. It seemed essential to find some method of establishing some legal control over such court-martial judgments. So, a memorandum was sent to the Secretary of War for his personal consideration, suggesting a revision of authority vested in the Judge Advocate General of the Army. Although the various convening authorities, upon their own initiative, as well as that of the Judge Advocate General, sometime long after the case had been reviewed and the judgment had gone into effect, did exercise the

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power of mitigation which the articles of War authorized them to do, the accused could never be entirely relieved of the disgrace of a court-martial sentence.

It was not until after my return from Europe in the early months of 1918, where I had gone to study the emergency legislation and the system of administering military justice, that I came in charge of the administration of military laws in Washington. It was then we concluded upon a reorganization of our office, the establishment of boards of review which were composed of expert lawyers who examined the cases and wrote their reviews merely as recommendations that the judgments be set aside or modified. As it happened that these reviews were unfortunately recommended to the War Department, frequently after the sentences had gone into effect and the man had been put out of the army or been executed, the War Department issued a general order which directed courts-martial to suspend sentences which would place men beyond all corrective power, to hold sentences in abeyance until somebody could be advised or induced to take some action upon them. This general order was a partial recognition that the necessity of a reviewing power somewhere was obvious. We could not review all the twenty thousand cases, so we selected only all sentences of extreme seriousness, such as involved death, dismissal, and penitentiary.

These boards of review were created in July, 1918. The reviews, however, are without the slightest authority. Nevertheless, in order to expedite the hope of a review of a serious case, I recommended that there be established in Europe a branch office of the Judge Advocate General's Office with the same powers as these existing in Washington. In February or March, 1918, an officer styled Acting Judge Advocate General in France was sent there. In May or June that office was established, and is still established.

Generally, the commanding officer who decides upon the merits of a cause of action by court-martial declines to receive the recommendation for reviewing, or reopening the case, holding that, under military law, he exercises full

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power in courts-martial cases, and he is within his rights. We had a generally bad situation in France. Even when I was in France myself, the commanding general of the next to the largest headquarters there had declined to follow the rulings of the Acting Judge Advocate General. The question was presented to the Judge Advocate General's office in Washington whether the request that cases reviewed by the Judge Advocate in France should be submitted to the Judge Advocate General's Office here, would not deprive the commanding generals in Europe of their authority to pass finally upon all questions arising from courts-martial procedure. That question, I believe, was not settled.

COURTS-MARTIAL PECULIAR THINGS

COURTS-MARTIAL are peculiar things. I have expressed my own sentiment upon them not without some authority, because I have reviewed so many cases. The sentences have shocked my own sense of justice. If the courts themselves could have expected any such sentences to be served, those sentences would have been the very height of injustice, bearing no reasonable relation to the gravity of the offence charged. There is no extenuation in what is called "an indeterminate sentence," which means that if a man is sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment, he could be placed in disciplinary barracks and restore himself not only to the colors and to his former position in the army, but to useful citizenship. Of course it has been applied. Many men convicted by courts-martial are in disciplinary barracks now, and restorations are made from these barracks at Fort Leavenworth, or its branches at Fort Jay and Fort Alcatras. While there may be some efficacy and humanitarianism in this, it is a plan open to criticism. I certainly wish to be humane and liberal with respect to providing for the restoration of a man who has been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment by court-martial, but, I am more concerned, in the light of my experience during this war, with the machinery which places the man where he has to become subjected to clemency power, for that is what restoration is. The time to prevent

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injustice is at the very beginning of the court-martial proceeding.

Down in eastern North Carolina where I was born and brought up, there is a good deal of freedom and independence, maybe too much. I myself was not used to military discipline. I did not come to it easily, was not quickly adjusted to the requirements of any military establishment. Now, if through violations of any military law imposed upon me before I had time for adjustment, I had been sentenced to a severe term of imprisonment at Fort Leavenworth, I am not sure that I might not be among those regarded in the disciplinary barracks as a man who could not be integrated with military society. There was the case of a man who entered the army on October 28th, and was court-martialed on November 23rd, less than thirty days after he entered. There was nothing about the man's record to indicate that he would not make a good soldier, but he did violate some camp orders.

HARSHNESS OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE

HE WAS detailed on what is known as kitchen police, to keep the kitchen clean. Maybe he was preparing some food. He smoked while doing that. A new officer of low rank, who had just got his first bar, said to him, "You should not smoke on kitchen police." That was true. I do not know what reply the man made. Then the officer said, "Give me those cigarettes." He had a package of cigarettes stuck about him somewhere, and the soldier refused, probably with an oath. The second lieutenant, probably quite as unused to the service as the enlisted man, had him court-martialed for that and for certain raucous, crude, and unmilitary language to him and to a non-commissioned officer, and he was sentenced to imprisonment of somewhere between twenty and thirty years. Supposing that man does go to the disciplinary barracks, I don't care very much about trying any test to find out whether he would be fit for military society or not, because he never had time to know anything about military law. I find myself wonder-

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ing whether the young officer was really a man who had not adjusted himself to the situation. This sentence was passed upon him upon a trial based upon disobedience of the order and disrespect to the officer and a sergeant standing by. This was one of the last cases I passed on in the Judge Advocate General's Office, and I do not know what my recommendation for reviewing the case accomplished. I recall that, in another of the cases that seemed to be equally flagrant, the reviewing authority had declined to reduce a sentence which was approved for ten years, although the original court-martial gave this man forty years.

DEATH SENTENCES EXECUTED WITHOUT APPEAL

THERE have been a great many death sentences executed without appeal from the courts-martial, or chance of appeal. Conspicuously in my mind is the mutiny case which occurred in the Department of Texas in the Regular Army. On the very day that I submitted my brief to the War Department requesting that the revisory power be established, the press reports announced the hanging of a number of negro soldiers for murder and mutiny. Those were the Houston riot cases. The men were tried. They were court-martialed for murder and mutiny and riot, and were executed immediately upon the termination of the trial, before their records could be forwarded to Washington, and before any one of them had time or opportunity to seek clemency at all. This was a case in point that established the inefficiency, under legal viewpoint, of the court-martial. Under the present theory of military law, the commanding general who brings the court into being is the authority who says finally that the proceedings of that court were regular, the judgment legal, and orders execution, except as to a very few cases of death penalties and dismissals of general officers, that must come to the President of the United States for confirmation before there can be an actual execution of the judgment. I am convinced that inasmuch as the authority of the court-martial is inherently a judicial power, it ought not to be confused with

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or located by any consideration of military command. The execution of these negro soldiers was made at a time when the War Department held that the department commander had complete authority to carry the judgment into execution. It was not until sometime after, as a result of my agitation for revisory power, that an order was issued that death sentence should not be carried into effect until reviewed by the Judge Advocate General.

PUNISHMENTS BY AUTHORITY OF ONE MAN

THE punishments which courts-martial have been awarding during this war have resulted in nothing more or less than the authority of one single man, namely, the convening authority of that court-martial, awarding the punishment. One man was convicted simply for having a pass in his possession unlawfully. He was sentenced to be dishonorably discharged with total forfeitures and to be confined at hard labor for ten years. The reviewing authority reduced the confinement to three years, but observed that the sentence of the commanding officer was ten years. I recommended, inasmuch as this soldier had been in confinement about two months, that the entire sentence should be remitted. Another case showed where the accused soldier was found guilty of absence without leave from July 29 to August 26, 1918, failing to report for duty, and escaping from confinement on September 1, 1918. The court-martial sentenced him to dishonorable discharge, to the usual forfeitures of pay and allowances, and to be confined at hard labor for forty years. The board of review managed to reduce the confinement to ten years. Even this sentence is entirely too severe. The Judge Advocate General's Office in Washington so commented. In reply to these recommendations from Washington we have sometimes received, from the convening authority in Europe, a reply like this:

"This court sentenced the man to forty years; I reduced it to ten; I cannot, with my regard for military discipline, reduce it further."

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SENTENCES OF INTOLERABLE SEVERITY

ANOTHER case that attracted my attention was where the accused man was tried for disobeying an order to take his rifle and go out to drill on November 1, 1918, and escaping from confinement on November 4th. He was sentenced to be dishonorably discharged from the service and confined at hard labor for thirty years, which period of confinement the reviewing authority reduced to twenty years. The accused claimed he was sick. In my judgment the sentence, even as reduced, was entirely too severe.

I do not share the view that an ordinary military offence, because it is committed in war time, should have an aspect much greater than it is. Desertion is a serious offence at any time, and properly so under military law, but desertion in the face of the enemy takes on an entirely different aspect from desertion three thousand miles from the actual theatre of war. So, if a man goes to sleep at the post in the face of the enemy his case is very different from that of a man who had recently come into the service and goes to sleep while guarding some Government property in Texas—some canvas or quartermaster's equipage. In the latter case it does not satisfy my sense of justice to talk of the death penalty. Many very severe punishments have been ordered for such cases. Any institution must be based on justice. It must do justice if it is going to survive the confidence and approval of the American people.

There was another case where the accused was charged with desertion and convicted of absence without leave from the 12th of August to the 13th of November, 1918. He was sentenced to be dishonorably discharged and to be imprisoned for twenty years, which was reduced to ten years, and that was in the United States, not in France. The great difficulty is to understand just what desertion is in the military establishment. It seems to me that when you go out and transfer to the Army of the United States a great segment, as it were, of our citizens, and they find themselves yesterday citizens, and today soldiers, they cannot possibly understand all the obligations of the military law, not

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being familiar with the military code. We in the Regular Army have always said that one great trouble with the civil regard for the military status was due to the fact that the people in civil life regarded it just as they would any other employment, that a man can quit almost at will without incurring a penalty. A court of Army men do not see, in my judgment, the great human fact behind many an accusation for desertion. You can state a case on the record, that will sustain, as a matter of law, the finding of guilty of desertion, whereas full facts, fairly tried, would show no desertion at all. These unjust punishments are by reason of the unlimited power of courts-martial to award whatever punishment it pleases in time of war. When a court gives a man forty years I naturally have to ask myself, "Why didn't you give him eighty years or twenty?" There was no reason why they could not do it. In times of peace the articles of war authorized the President to establish the maximum limits of punishment. In times of war the authority rests exclusively with the courts-martial.

I am impressed by the fact, having sat in the Judge Advocate General's Office throughout this war, that the sentences have been intolerably severe. Even as reduced they have been so. There are obvious reasons for this. The counsel for the defence in court-martial is usually assigned. Usually he is a second lieutenant, an inexperienced man, who brings out nothing. Frequently the Judge Advocate, who is a commissioned officer attached to the command, does not bring out much, which results in a haphazard sort of a trial.

THE ENLISTED MAN'S DISADVANTAGE

AS A matter of practical government the enlisted man is the man who has to be looked out for. When a court-martial comes to try an officer, the Army regards dismissal from the army as a very heavy and serious punishment. Every officer is capable of presenting his case very much better than an enlisted man, because the circumstances in the military society itself are such as enable

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an officer to get a better defence, and a fairer trial. Throughout my service in the Army I have thought that we regard dishonorable discharge in the case of an enlisted man, altogether too lightly. The military mind does. When I find the sentence of dishonorable discharge against a man, I see in it a terrible punishment, and it would be a very serious offence, an extreme case, that would justify me in imposing any long term of confinement. It is a fact that the punishment of dishonorable discharge of the enlisted man, in my judgment, is a very much abused penalty. It means as much to the enlisted man as dismissal means to the officer. Both dishonorable discharge and dismissal are terrible punishments, for this reason,—they are continuing punishments. I do not believe they have been properly appreciated by the Army. They are punishments which last as long as the man himself lasts, because we want that dishonorable discharge respected by society, employers of labor; we want that yellow sheet that we give to a man, to be a yellow sheet. It means that man has been expelled and disgraced from the Army. There is something wrong with him. He is bad. He has been unfaithful to his trust. That will stay with him as long as he draws a breath of life. I have followed many of these men, and there is something that destroys the spirit and the capacity to come back in this dishonorable discharge.

I am convinced that courts-martial and approving authorities are abusing their judicial powers in awarding and approving sentences. They are a travesty upon justice.

The obstinacy with which military commanders oppose revision of court-martial cases is due probably to their traditional military training. There have been several cases coming up from France in which our military authorities have very vigorously insisted upon execution. They insisted upon an enlargment of the offences for which they could resort to executing right there, without reference here at all. For instance, in France two men were tried for sleeping on post in an outlying trench, right in the face of

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the enemy. They were tried for refusing to go to drill the next day. They were sentenced to death, and the military authorities there made the most insistent appeal to the President that the sentences should be carried out.

The only power of revision of a court-martial sentence, under military law, is the officer appointing the court. He has the last say. The War Department says that the Judge Advocate General has no such power. We have succeeded, however, in suspending this power of the appointing officer to execute a sentence of death, discharge or dismissal by a recommendation of an advisory review. But the commanding officer has a right to ignore these recommendations, and he frequently does.

I contend that we should have authority, somewhere, that a judicial office should have the right to order a new trial.

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WILL NATIONALITY SURVIVE?

INFLUENCE OF THE LEAGUE ON DIPLOMATIC OR SOCIAL CONDITIONS

By HON. BERT M. FERNALD
(*U. S. Senator from Maine*)

WHATEVER ideals originally inspired the League of Nations, it does not appear to me that nationality was one of them. My own interpretation of the national spirit is not a theory of brotherhood, of socialism, of radical ideals or supreme political wisdom. It is an instinct. Nationality is born, not made. It cannot be coerced into allegiance of relations that may be forced upon it by philosophic arguments. It is not an academic development of education, it is not susceptible to other influences. Nationality is the man as he is born, not as he is made by intellectual pressure or other persuasions he may hear. These are some of the things nationality is not.

What nationality is, may be simplified by an analogy. The man without a country, a nationality, is a dead man no matter how long he lives. The man with a country is a man rich in patriotic perception of his duties as a citizen, a man with love in his heart for the laws of the society to which he belongs. I speak as one of many millions who have created a nationality based on the constitutional miracle of a modern world—the Declaration of Independence. As an American I am constitutionally one of the enlightened beings of the earth, to whom Americanism is the only national intelligence in the world worth living for. Perhaps there may appear to be some egotism in this statement, because the nationality of a man born elsewhere will be equally superb to him. If so, then the spirit of nationality is an ideal that will never surrender its national flag to the academic colors of a flag of the League of Nations. It

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represents too many compromises, too many entangling proposals that imperil the spirit of nationality.

"AND NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET"

WHAT use is it to declare that the Western civilization of the earth with all its traditions of the white man's habits, his customs, of education, of social laws, shall unite in administering an international confusion of birthright with the Oriental civilization? The latter, a comparatively recent adaptation of the white man's diplomatic problems (to an entirely different social inheritance), can never sincerely merge their orientalism into the character of the white man's nationality. Viewing the intentions of the League of Nations from this general aspect, from this broad application of its ideals as proposed, between the Eastern and the Western hemispheres, it becomes a violation of all national instincts involved. And yet, this is one of the preponderant factors of the entanglement proposed in the international treaty. Common sense, if not the fundamental principles of nationality, must sweep this aside. The Oriental is a man in whose heart lie the national instincts of the Orient, instincts that are totally different from those of Western civilization. It seems to me quite useless to excuse a plan to unite the white man and the yellow man in a council of world nationality, when they are as variant and as far apart in national instincts as their respective horizons. And yet, we are asked to assume that the advantages of such a plan are a step forward in human progress, a degree higher for the government of all nations. I do not wish to live in a house of all nations. I prefer to live in a home of my own, whereto the keys to my door are in my own pocket, without duplicates in the hands of friend or foe.

CANNOT BETTER OURSELVES

THE remarkable success which the United States has had in building a national sovereignty for itself, on a site more desirably selected than any in Europe, with no prying frontiers of envious or spying neighbors, with no

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military pomp of class to confuse its national household, cannot be improved by a plan to alter these blessings in any way whatever. We cannot better ourselves by assuming responsibility in the lease-holding of other nations. We may lose our enjoyment of nationality by doing so, because we cannot always sympathize with the domestic regulations of other people, though they may be friendly neighbors.

The United States has never indicated an inclination to criticise the nationality of others. Our immigration laws have carefully extended their privilege to all people of the earth, without criticism of their own national instincts. Many of the immigrants have adopted our nationality, and prospered in doing so. In this relation it would almost seem as though, if there must be a new world for the safety of democracy, that European nations would be vastly benefited if they adopted a plan based upon the Constitution of the United States, if they could create, out of the European chaos of racial and legitimate differences a vast United States of Europe with a declaration of independence without the sinister employment of diplomatic agents to entangle that declaration. Of course such a plan is firmly discouraged in the League of Nations, because it is not a plan that will be feasible; it is a plan that, if put into operation in Europe, would suppress the League of Nations.

Nationality cannot survive the grasping deceptions of diplomatic agreements secretly made.

And yet, we are told on the contrary that nationality will be greatly improved by the League of Nations, that the five dominating powers of the world, four of which at least have attained colonial and domestic authority by military force, shall become the protecting agents of the smaller nations, so that they shall no longer be hampered by diplomatic jealousies from a survival of their separate nationality. Is it, then, the size of a man that gives him self-determination, or the will for nationality that is in him? Because he is not so fortunate in size, in wealth, in prosperity; because he is in national stature smaller than other nations, must he breathe and eat and sleep, and work, and subject his na-

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tional ambitions to the will and order of the bigger nations? Is it to be a survival of the fittest by diplomatic standards, or a survival of the fittest by standards of his own independent instincts of nationality?

These are questions that persist in spite of the inspiring assumption that by adopting the plans of the League of Nations we are to bring about a state of everlasting peace—of no more wars on earth.

THE VITAL INSTINCT OF SELF-DEFENCE

AMONG the elements of nationality that have survived in me, and I think in all my fellow citizens of this great nation, are the elements of self-defence against intrusion upon them. Self-defence is an instinct of pride in nationality—an impulse that leads us into war. To assume that any nationality can survive without the instinct of self-defence, is to believe that the course of the moon and the stars can be changed by the wisdom of a man. Nor, to my mind, is a war of self-defence a deplorable instinct. But recently it has demonstrated its glorious and irrepressible privilege in our own defence against imperialism. The spirit of our own nationality blooms into splendor of heroism that has greatly strengthened it, in the war with Germany.

War is despicable or it is superb in so far as it is the outcome of nationality, in so far as it is not entangled in its purposes of diplomatic expectations. War is an inevitable condition of national survival, and peace is a victory for nationality. Peace is impossible without it, and yet it is strangely insisted that the League of Nations is a system of perpetual peace for the world by virtue of agreements between various people of the world to sustain nationality. If it were a business transaction, a plan based upon the practical advantages of some form of international security that was more tangible, then the ideals alone would be expected. Primarily, however, we are told that it is an inspired plan, not a plan of business opportunity, but a plan of ideals that have not been tried. The League

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of Nations is a doctrine with only one doctor. It requires a consultation of many doctors, for it is a serious case. Very positively, it is further insisted that the League of Nations is created to establish nationality. Nationality is said to be its chief ideal. In the final test of the Treaty, there is a security, but it is not so much a presentation of self-determination, as it is the promotion of power and self-interest agreed to by the five great powers of the world, over all other nationalities. If the latter desire to accept the security of these great powers which are to permit them to transact their affairs in peace, they will have to abide by certain regulations of those powers. These regulations appear to make the survival of nationality an issue dependent upon the will and diplomatic skill of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, and the United States.

It is assumed that by using a stick big enough to knock these nationalities into a sort of comatose obedience to their own diplomatic arrangements—there will be peace on earth.

AN OVERGROWN INFANT OF GROTESQUE ANATOMY

IT may be, that in its crude state of pre-natal expectancy, the League of Nations intended to be what it was advertised to be, a giant thing of superhuman wisdom. But it grew up to be an overgrown infant of grotesque political anatomy, a figure of speech so far as any ideals it has established, a huge figure deformed, but attempting to represent a world super-government. Perhaps it has disappointed its parentage. In Europe, it was courteously regarded as a political miracle which, for a time, wielded its influence.

How could nationality survive among the twenty-two smaller nations who are signatories to this Treaty, when by act of signature they renounced nationality? Possibly, some of these signatories regarded their position in world affairs as an exchange for diplomatic dealings of a practical, tangible value, with the greater powers. Perhaps, though this is scarcely possible, the smaller nations overlooked the subtle system of diplomacy that lay in wait for them, when self-determination should exert itself.

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I am of the opinion that nationality has no great affection for diplomatic training. No more than a man's character is inclined to submit to the influences of international affairs as a guide to his own national decision, and comfort, and pleasure. He knows, if he can read, that diplomacy is an art with all the tendencies of trick and illusion that belongs to the arts.

AMERICA'S SAFEGUARD AGAINST FOREIGN WILES

IN America, where diplomacy has been closer to the instinct of American character more than anywhere else in the world, we have not had such practice in diplomacy as the art itself has demonstrated in Europe, nor do I believe have we any desire to develop it into those higher elements of illusive, yet, admirable skill to which it can be applied.

Nationality will not survive in its greatest opportunity for independence, freedom and strength of character by the uses of diplomacy. In time, such a nation will be squeezed into a weak, vacillating, unhappy body politic, if it depends upon its diplomats to keep it well and prosperous.

Nationality will survive best without diplomatic entanglements. As for ourselves, there is a substance exclusively our own that is interwoven with our civil and judicial system that will always guard against any intrusions of foreign diplomacy. That substance is something the entire world understands and appreciates—it is Americanism.

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MILK AND PETROLEUM

HOW THE FATS ARE REMOVED

By EDWARD G. ACHESON, Sc.D.
(*Past-President American Electrochemical Society*)

THERE is a striking similarity in the physical make-up and composition of milk and petroleum and this likeness is carried throughout the natural and artificial treatments they are subjected to.

In milk the major part is just plain simple water in which are millions of minute particles floating about. These small particles are invisible to the naked eye, nor can they be seen in the ordinary powerful microscope. It is only by the use of an ultra-microscope that they can be detected, and then they are seen to be in constant vibration even after the milk has been standing at perfect rest for a long time.

The manner in which the ultra-microscope makes it possible to see the minute particles in the milk can be well illustrated by means of a very common and well-known fact. You look across a room or at an object in the room and see with such distinctness that you comment on the perfect clearness of the air. Now darken the room and allow a ray of sunlight to pass through the air and you at once trace the line of the sun's rays by innumerable particles of solid matter floating in what you formerly thought was perfectly transparent air. They have been made visible by the sun's rays when thrown into contrast with the surrounding darkness. So with the ultra-microscope. By means of a ray of arc light minute particles, that are invisible under a powerful microscope, are made visible in the same instrument by means of this bright illumination. These minute particles in vibration are termed, in scientific language, colloids, and the vibratory movement was first seen by a man of the name of Brown, and ever since this movement has been known as the Brownian Movement.

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HOW MILK SEPARATES INTO ITS PRODUCTS

THE fresh milk as taken from the cow is largely or wholly composed of three substances. The greater part is pure, ordinary water. In this water are colloids of two distinct varieties. If a pan of fresh milk be set aside it is only a matter of a few hours until the colloids of one variety collect at the top of the milk where they form our well-known cream. The cream having been skimmed from the milk and set aside will in a short time sour, an acid having been formed in it. This sourness, or acidity, causes the colloids of the cream to coagulate, or gather together in small globules, which are recognized as fat. The soured cream is next put through a churning process which causes the small globules of fat to unite, forming what we know to be butter, and this when carried to the proper state is removed from the water.

Having disposed of our cream by the removal of the colloids as butter, we will now turn to what we ordinarily term our skim-milk, and we find in due time this will also turn sour and the white matter in the milk coagulate, and perhaps you have seen this product poured into a suitably arranged bag and the water drained out, leaving our cottage cheese in the bag. With the removal of the colloids in the form of cottage cheese and the final elimination of the water we have completed the total destruction of the milk and its separation into three products, butter, cheese and water, and the first step in this separation is the formation by Nature of an acid within the liquid, the presence of this acid being quite essential for the removal of the fats, or food material, from the water with which they are associated. An alkali, such as lime or caustic soda, would have accomplished the same result, but Nature uses an acid as the means.

Petroleum as taken from the earth is also full of colloids, but it is not so easy to understand as milk. Its chemical composition is now well known but there has not been a clear comprehension of its physical make-up, and this notwithstanding the fact that the value of petroleum

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largely depends on the physical characteristics of its several components which range from the thin, clear benzine, through our kerosene, fuel and lubricating oils. The thickness, or what is termed viscosity, of these several component parts increases in the same order from the benzine to the heavy lubricating oils.

WHAT THE MICROSCOPE DISCLOSES ABOUT PETROLEUM

AN examination of the many products of petroleum, by means of the ultra-microscope, discloses the fact that colloids exist in all of them with the exception of the benzine, and, further, that the number of colloids present increases as the petroleum product increases in viscosity, and this, naturally, leads to the idea that the viscosity may be due to the presence of the colloids, but whether that be true is not an assured fact, yet it is a fact that it is to them that lubricating oils owe their greasiness and unctuousness. It is the greasiness of lubricating oil that causes it to adhere to the surface of the shaft and bearings, thereby keeping them separated, while its unctuousness causes easy slipping of the surfaces, and as these two qualities are due to the presence of the colloids, it is evident the real value of the lubricating oil lies in these colloids.

As the value of petroleum lubricating oil lies in the colloids present in the oil, and, in turn, the existence of our industrial life depends on lubricating oils, it is well to have a fair understanding of the nature of these all-important ultra-microscopic particles. They have the greasiness and unctuousness of the butter colloids, which are commonly known as fat, hence we cannot be much in error if we call the colloids found in petroleum, fat. One we know as an animal fat, and the other we will call petroleum fat.

It is quite well understood that an animal fat cannot be rubbed off a surface upon which it has been applied, nor will plain water remove it. We use soap and water. Apply such a test as this to a lubricating oil. Take the same oil before and after being subjected to the usual filtering process as carried out by the oil refiners: select four pieces of glass, such for instance as the common glass slide used in

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mounting objects for microscopic examinations: on the center of one slide place a drop of the unfiltered oil and cover the drop with another one of the slides: on the third slide place a drop of the filtered oil and on this place the fourth slide. Now taking these two sets in your hands between the thumb and fingers, rub them for some minutes, after which place both hands beneath the surface of water and continue rubbing the two sets of slides under the water the same as they were rubbed in the air. In a few minutes it will be found that the two glass plates between which the filtered oil was placed are in contact, the oil having been washed away by the water, whereas the plates between which the unfiltered oil was placed are not in contact, and upon removing the slides from the water it will be found there is a real grease or fat body between the glass plates, and this cannot be removed excepting by the use of soap and water. The result of this test can only be construed as proof that the filtering removes valuable fats, the oil being improved in appearance at the expense of its efficiency.

All colloids are subject to much the same laws. Acids, most alkalies and chemicals generally are poison to them, their colloidal state being destroyed, as has been shown in the case of the soured cream and skim-milk. Another important point is that they adhere to any object they are brought in contact with. This fact has been commented on as a valuable one in lubricating when they adhere to the surfaces of the shaft and bearings.

Having thus briefly, and in a very general manner, reviewed the characteristics of colloids, and more particularly fat colloids, let us look into the methods usually practised in the so-called refining of petroleum lubricating oil.

METHOD OF REFINING LUBRICATING OIL

PREVIOUS to the discovery of petroleum in quantity, there was sold on the market for illuminating purposes, what was called "coal oil." This coal oil in its use was made to ascend a wick, and to do so successfully it was found

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necessary to treat it with sulphuric acid in order to free it from impurities that caused clogging of the wick. This same acid treatment was found necessary with kerosene as taken from petroleum. The preparation of kerosene for the market eventually took some such form as this—treatment with strong sulphuric acid followed by a treatment with caustic soda, followed by washing with water, followed by filtration through fullers' earth. It would not be expected that any fat colloids present in the crude kerosene would escape this extended chemical and filtration treatment. Nevertheless some of them do, as can be seen in an ultramicroscope. It is the presence of these few fat colloids in kerosene that causes this liquid to produce a grease spot or stain on any fabric it is brought in contact with. The main purpose of the chemical and filtration treatment of kerosene is to remove the fat colloids.

It may be found difficult to believe that this highly successful method of removing the fat from kerosene would be used in the treatment of lubricating oils, for their worth is wholly due to them, but nevertheless such is the fact. A number of methods and processes are practiced in the treatment of lubricating oils, but each of them contain all or a part of the steps practiced with kerosene. In some cases as much as eight per cent in volume of the oil is lost in the treatment with sulphuric acid, and still other amounts are lost in the caustic soda and filtration treatment, and these losses are largely due to the removal of fat. When it be recalled that at least one-half of the coal consumed in making steam to run manufacturing plants is wholly lost in friction, and that our lubricating oils are used to reduce or prevent friction, any treatment that tends to diminish the lubricating value of the oil should be looked upon with pronounced disfavor.

IMPROVING OIL'S APPEARANCE COSTLY

UNDOUBTEDLY the processes through which the oils are passed improve their appearance immensely because the presence of the fat colloids tends to produce a dark and

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rather unpleasing appearance, and this is quite objectionable from a salesman's point of view. The public, and more particularly the manufacturers, should not be interested in the color of an oil. They should demand of the oil salesman some proof as to the lubricating values of the oils he offers for sale. Evidently the refiners must know their refining processes reduce the efficiency of the oils as lubricants as evidenced by the fact that they use black oil that has not been subjected to a high degree of refining when they themselves undertake extensive lubrication, as in railroad-car journals.

The more thoroughly the question of lubrication is studied, the more positive the conviction becomes of the truth of the statement recently made by Mr. W. B. Hardy, F. R. S., Secretary of the Royal Society of England, that "the problem of lubrication is merely a special problem of colloidal physics."

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WOMEN IN TRADE RECONSTRUCTION

By KATHRINE CLEMMONS GOULD
(*Founder—President-at-Large Woman's Chamber of Commerce, Incorporated, National and International*)

IN presenting the ideals that are being put into practical service by the Woman's Chamber of Commerce, the character of women becomes the key to those ideals. The neglect of women through past centuries, in the economic issues of public affairs, has been acknowledged. By degrees, her imprisonment of sex has been destroyed, she has impressed upon the man power of the world a woman power that has surpassed the traditions of her former place in the world. She gripped the malicious influences of liquor upon the strong and masterful, and brought about prohibition. She upheld her judgment and perception of political conscience, and brought about woman suffrage. These chief disturbances to her domestic relations being removed, it seemed to me that her next incentive to share responsibility of a world practically brought up in the strength and love of her being must be in the general direction of business sympathy with men.

It was obvious that a Woman's Chamber of Commerce could not function, in the same degree of financial importance to the world's commerce, as other similar organizations conducted by man. The big business of the world is still in the hands of the men, only a few large corporations in America are conducted by women. It looked like the next step in the woman's share of world affairs. Prohibition and woman suffrage being successfully accomplished, there was a possible platform for women in the national problems of the world, which she could adopt in a Woman's Chamber of Commerce.

Being a member of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, of the Merchants' Association of New York,

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myself, I have been interested in the system and processes of economic ideals which these important associations are establishing. Women attended these conferences, but of course no woman spoke at the meetings. There was always a big man to listen to, whose ideas were the fruition of wide commercial knowledge in the business world. Not until I succeeded in the incorporation of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce was I permitted to make speeches on the same platform with the men of big business. They were curious to hear what a woman might have to say about commercial affairs, about trade reciprocity, about the elastic opportunity for domestic trade improvement.

PLANS OF ORGANIZATION

ABOUT a year ago we established at Washington, headquarters for the Woman's Chamber of Commerce, and a New York office. We began an earnest organization of economic ideals that have made some impression upon those features of trade interest that especially affect the lives of women. Our plans of organization in all the essential requirements are similiar to those of the men. There are extensions of these plans, however, that confirm the impression, long ago predicted, that women are more careful in their perception of character and economics than most men.

There are certain features of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce that are the secrets of the organization. They will extend the prospect of women in their relation to national as well as international affairs. The acknowledged abilities of women in business have aided our plans to promote this organization. Our system of securing membership is almost identical with that of the Chamber of Commerce excepting that we have been careful to accept only those women who have special qualifications for the ideals the Woman's Chamber of Commerce represents. Women who are delightful in personality may, notwithstanding, fail in the equipment necessary to grasp the complex issues of big trade. Therefore, in our requirements for membership we have been able to secure a representative

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list of intelligent, patriotic, far-seeing women who are lending the strength of their integrity of character and vision to the progress of trade issues within and without the boundaries of the United States. By this organization they are able to maintain a force in the affairs of national progress. Naturally, the tendency of a Woman's Chamber of Commerce in its inception has been to concentrate upon affairs that especially touch the domestic interests of women.

WOMEN TORTURED BY MEN'S MANDATES

FOR instance, for years the women have been tortured by the mandates of men who manufacture their clothes, of men who torture their feet with hideous shoes. The wide scope of these manufacturing industries have been entirely ignored by women until the Woman's Chamber of Commerce undertook to secure some tangible voice in their affairs. Everything made for women—for their home, their domestic interest—previously designed and imposed on them by men, will be taken under the advice and for the benefit of the women. It is a question which involves far more than the mere dictates of fashion, it is a question which concerns the health, the discretion, education and the morals of women. In one respect this phase of the work, which the Woman's Chamber of Commerce recognized, touches the higher ideals of business reconstruction. Nor is it one of the lesser issues of economic readjustment. Things that have been manufactured especially for women have been adopted by these manufacturing industries with a view to unnecessary extravagance. I am not advocating reform clothes, or reform domestic habits, but I do feel that the Woman's Chamber of Commerce is fulfilling something more than a trade ideal in attempting to influence the character of the output of manufacturing industries which manufacture goods especially for women. This idea apparently has impressed itself upon men who are interested in this class of industry, for we have had many applications from such men for membership. We have gladly accepted

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them, providing they could be admitted under the provisions of our by-laws.

With the new responsibilities which fall upon the shoulders of women today, it is possible that she needs especial guidance through education and co-ordination of interest in economic matters.

TO ABOLISH WAR TOYS

WE have not lost sight of the fact that the very foundation of education begins with the child in its earliest years. With this thought in mind we have endeavored to influence the toy manufacturers with a view to getting them to abolish all war toys. Toys are the first ideas developed for children. Their impression upon children are very lasting. While it is a difficult matter to limit the character of toys, to systematize a plan by which they shall represent only the ethical purpose in amusing the children, something of the sort should be done, and will become a part of our educational plans. There is so much education required in the speed of modern invention and new thought, that education will be the watchword in the plans of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce. Women will be assisted upon those educational lines which they particularly wish to follow. They are to be taught the work which they can do, and so, incidentally, discover the sort of work they cannot do. While a complete freedom of choice is left open, we hope to be of real assistance to them.

In this connection it must be said that we are not seeking the over-educated for membership. All women who are workers are eligible. It is not necessary for them all to take active part in the work of the organization, but they must be willing to help, either with work or money, the great undertaking of this woman movement. Nor does this organization stop with America. Branches of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce have already been established in Cuba, China and the Philippines. We have organized acting committees in fifteen States, and we are constantly extending our activities into other States and

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national possessions. We are encouraged by the fact that we have received many invitations from men to establish representation of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce in many States. In accord with our plans for educational preparation there will be a junior organization consisting of girls from ten to twenty years of age. These branches will be under the direction of older women who will prepare them to hold responsible positions, either here or abroad, when they are old enough.

LATIN-AMERICA A PROFITABLE TRADE FIELD

DURING my visit to New Orleans, I was particularly impressed with the opportunities for women in that part of the country to examine a profitable field of trade with the Latin-American countries, because they lie so near at hand. New Orleans girls should receive training which would fit them for positions as saleswomen in Spanish-America. It is surprising how many industries there are, particularly suitable to the sort of work women can do, that are almost unknown in this country. Take Louisiana for instance. Women could amass fortunes by taking up the silk industry energetically, by becoming silk farmers. Silk culture is essentially a woman's work. I found that this idea was, in some measure, already in operation in Louisiana, and it was my privilege to explain that there need be no fear in competition, that the scope of the silk industry embraced the whole world.

In the closer relations into which European trade will be brought with the United States, it was obviously necessary for the Woman's Chamber of Commerce to extend its influence from national to international exchange of opinion. Before incorporating the Woman's Chamber of Commerce, I consulted with those leading men of finance and big business men with whom I had acquaintance, and they greatly assisted me in bringing this organization before the public. I was asked to attend various conventions for the development of domestic and foreign trade and to address them concerning our plans. They quickly realized

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that my heart and soul was in the work for the fullest development of chances for women. Perhaps they also realized that these chances were incumbent—that they must be based on thorough training and the promotion of fellowship. In some of the foreign countries where the freedom of women, politically and economically, is well established, the Woman's Chamber of Commerce makes a practical appeal.

PERSONNEL OF THE CHAMBER

ASSOCIATED with me are Nanette B. Paul, of Paul Institute, elected president; Mrs. Ida Clyde Clark, vice-president-at-large; Edith Wallace Pichon, auditor; Lillian Cole-Bethel, parliamentarian; Elizabeth Murray Shephard, historian; Mrs. G. H. Mathias, section vice-president, Alabama; Mrs. Geo. March, director, Arizona; Dr. Anna Robinson, director, Alabama; Mrs. Leola N. King, executive, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Robert Glover, branch president, Texas; Mrs. Sophia Delevan, Illinois; Miss Mary Catherine Thomson, North Carolina; Mrs. Reuben Chauvin, branch president, Louisiana; Miss Kate Minor, section vice-president; Miss Florence E. Shaal, director, Massachusetts; Miss Fannie Wolfson, national chairman congressional committee.

There are eighteen vice-presidents, one for each section covering three States.

We are working along very definite lines to promote better business with the women of other countries as well as with the women in our own country. We are not making any personal distinctions between the class of trade we desire to influence. We feel that the retail as well as the wholesale trade will cooperate to the best of their ability in order to create the business atmosphere which we feel the women of America should have.

AN EDUCATIONAL PROPAGANDA

WE have already begun a propaganda of education on this line abroad. Agents of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce are now in foreign countries studying the pos-

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sibility of closer trade relations with American women. We are now planning to send groups of business women to all parts of the earth to promote better business with America. Speaking the language of the country to which they are sent, having a thorough understanding of the goods they are especially promoting, we are sure that much will be accomplished by them. Women, alone, can grasp what women need more easily than the average man.

In the near future, under the direction of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce, there will develop an exporting business conducted by women who, having an intelligent knowledge of what is required in Europe, will sell the products of American factories and American farms to the markets of Europe. Then, of course, in accord with the woman's perception, we hope to improve the ideals of labor under which women and children will receive adequate protection. The betterment of the condition of women and children employed in industrial plants will be a matter to which the Woman's Chamber of Commerce will give active solution.

We are, however, by no means limiting our energies to economic outlook among women. We are making a stand for good roads, as they are one of the most important factors in national improvements. Good roads are vital for us in case of future war as well as in their value to the traffic in foreign trade and commerce. We have made an investigation of the cost of labor in making good roads as against the cost of the same labor in other countries. In Europe cheap labor is employed in this work. This is done by using Egyptians, Chinese, Indians, those races of men who have solved the problem of living in their own way, and greatly to their advantage.

THE DIRE NEED OF SHIPS

THEN, above all things, we want ships. Everybody should demand, not ask, that we have a merchant marine equal to that of any other country. Conversations I have had with leaders of foreign countries revealed how backward American merchants have been in taking full advantage of their opportunities in Europe, Asia and Africa.

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From all the information I gathered in this way, it was made plain that this country must own its own merchant marine and extend credit to foreign countries, as England and Germany have done. This is essential if we hope to compete with those nations. Unfortunately, we are vacillating in this matter. An excellent example of how we failed to grasp opportunities is shown in the attitude of the Secretary of the Navy. At first he was a firm supporter for an adequate merchant marine, and promised his full support. Then he went to England. When he came back he had changed his mind about this important matter. I feel that it is very necessary for any organization interested in trade to think about a large merchant marine. One never knows what his friend of today may become tomorrow.

The problems that men have to face in the future trade-issues are thoroughly understood by women. It was my privilege to address the Mississippi Waterways Commission some time ago, pledging the influence of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce to that cause. The entire opening up of the Mississippi Valley, by deepening the channels so that large ships can relieve the tremendous pressure put upon the ports of New York, has a far-reaching solution of the high cost of living. Congestion of traffic once broken up, a wider field of distribution for necessities in this great country is an absolute need for economic relief. On behalf of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce I can say that the building of ships for the making of a great American merchant marine is one of its chief aims. I am particularly proud of the honor conferred upon me as the result of my effort with the Woman's Chamber of Commerce to grasp the significance of an increased merchant marine, of my appointment, with the honorary rank of Colonel, to active membership in the President's Own Garrison. At their convention, at Atlantic City, I was unanimously elected National Sponsor, an office created especially for me. I believe I am the first woman to be admitted to this organization, which includes three ex-presidents in the list of mem-

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bership. Heretofore no one has been admitted except men with honorable military records.

Our motto, "Each is bound to all," expresses the united ideal of the Woman's Chamber of Commerce. It is a symbol of our cause. It invites the undivided support of all American women who are intelligently anxious to meet the problems of world peace. Now that the war is over, we shall pursue a more active plan of organization, and we shall greatly enlarge our scope of influence upon national trade.

HAPPILY FOREVER AFTER

By FAITH BALDWIN

How many lovers' lips, since God made man,
And fashioned rose-white Eve from flame and clay,
Have flung their gallant challenge in Death's way?
"Beyond sweet earth, beyond Life's destined span,
"We shall fulfill a mystic, splendid Plan,
"And, heart to heart, greet Love's immortal Day.
"Death builds no walls! And we have walked the way
"Of Love, together, since the World began!"
How many ask, with shining eyes and clear,
"Have we not loved ere now?" The poet's lute,
Is touched to memories of Greece and Rome...
And who shall prove Man's Love no visioned seer?
The laughing lips of ancient days are mute...
But there are souls who find their dream-road—Home!

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THE CASE OF MEXICO

THE MENACING SHADOW ON OUR BORDER

By LUCILLE WETHERELL

(*Concluded from page 405*)

FOREIGN BUSINESS AND THE PEONS

FOR some time before the forced exodus of Americans out of Mexico, in 1914, foreign-business had been doing for the peons something akin to that now contemplated by the League of Nations for the down-trodden of earth. These foreigners had of course done it in a small way and under very difficult circumstances.

I must protest here against that part of the editorial, cited previously, which holds Americans in Mexico responsible for the "Peonage system of slavery." They are no more responsible for that system—bad or good—than is good Queen Wilhelmina, of Holland, for a similar system in Surinam. She is reported to be the chief owner of the largest plantation in Dutch Guiana—a place which is said to employ more contracted people than any other in South America—some say in the world.

The truth in both cases is, that money was invested in legitimate business and the investors in both cases used the methods of procuring labor existent there—indeed the only method yet worked out in either case. Americans on plantations in Mexico have not abused labor. They have quietly and at great pains uplifted it. They have maintained schools, hospitals, doctors, have housed labor better than it has ever been housed before—better than the same class of labor is housed in the United States even—under great difficulty they have given opportunity for able and industrious men to work out of the *cuadrillas* into free laborers. Not a few of such men have grown into trusted officials. In the "grinding-season" on sugar-plantations, every trusty man is given an opportunity to work as a free

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man—by "*terea*" (job) and receive such pay as he can earn, paying the regular price for board and lodging. The managers aren't too particular either to find out who is trusty—they can't be, there isn't time.

I was in Mexico seven years—I heard of one whipping on the place where I was. It was neither ordered nor done by an American. I have lived in a Southern State for three years now. During the first year I heard of more than five times that number within a short radius of where I live. And—New England Yank as I am, Republican rankly, experience has taught me not to judge the South, but to hope with it that a better adjustment is coming out of an old system that was not wholly bad.

As for Porfirio Diaz—he was good and he was bad—he was a gentleman and he was of his people and his time—that time has passed and Don Porfirio has passed with it. He was a builder of a one-man-power, and, far-sighted as he was in some things, he did not fully comprehend Limantour—Mexico's man of the hour, who built a machine of many cogs for many people; was jealous of none, because all served Mexico, and Limantour loves Mexico and work.

DIAZ AND THE YAQUIS

BUT take Porfirio with his worst of deeds, which many in the United States call "The Case of The Yaquis."

From first-hand knowledge I don't know anything about the deed—neither did I ever encounter anyone who did—I get my information from hearsay and impressions in and out of Mexico. So I can't tell exactly about the Yaquis and Diaz. Nor do I know much about the exact status of the United States and the Seminoles and all the other tribes and the United States. I get my information, as do most people, from hearsay. A part of mine was gathered from newspaper work in the Northwest and from a report made by an employee in Vice-President Marshall's office—when he was Governor of Indiana—as to the exploitation of Indian lands in Oklahoma. I don't know if it is true—but the Boston *Transcript* is authority that just now there is such an exploitation scheme on in the Senate

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of the United States with Apache lands in that same State of Oklahoma. However that may be, the likeness of hearsay above and below the Rio makes me believe that in order to condemn Porfirio properly we should make sure the hem of our own garment is not colored with Apache, Sioux, Pawnees, and all the other tribes that have rotted in and out of the reservations, while the enterprising middle-man has made merry exploitation of their holdings in and out of Oklahoma.

I have always wondered how the howl about exploitation of the Yaquis appealed to Vice-President Marshall, who is, I am told, a man of humor.

When, after being hauled out of Mexico in 1914, I was met by these cries of exploitation, and ventured to point out the facts mentioned above, the only answer ever vouchsafed me was the soul-sickening subterfuge:

"Two wrongs don't make a right."

Nor do they. But—I have a faint recollection that in some good book is written something about casting out the beam that is in one's own eye so as to see clearly the mote in a brother's.

In all this I am going on the theory that the United States is to blame for the present mess in Mexico because she interfered—not with Huerta—but with a President of Mexico with whom the people of Mexico at that time were not interfering. Whether he could have brought order out chaos or not we shall never know—no one can swear he wouldn't.

I doubt if many intelligent Mexicans would have chosen Huerta voluntarily. Foreigners looked at it—mostly—as Mexico's job, but Mexicans and foreigners alike had been treated to Bolshevism so long, had swallowed such a dose of absolute inefficiency and good-intent, that any kind of order looked good. It wasn't Huerta they were thinking of. It was an efficient man of affairs they were after. They took what they could get, and for the moment thanked Destiny they could get him, acting on the principle that: "There are periods in all affairs when they become unman-

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ageable; when the scruples of delicacy and propriety, as relative to the common course of things, ought to yield to the extraordinary nature of the crisis."

Also they had been taught by dire circumstances that "It is as difficult to be entirely bad as it is entirely good."

TRYING OUT A PET THEORY

AT THE time the Madero revolution came on, if the reformers had wished to play fair they would—as I have said before—have pictured Mexico as she stood that day in relation to other countries, instead of raking up past issues to confuse. They would have told what future Mexico might be expected to give to the world, instead of haranguing on how many Indian bodies had brought her to where she stood, since Evolution's way everywhere is strewn with bodies. They would have spoken of Limantour's policy and what might be expected of him with Young-Mexico back of him—it would have been back of him if there had been either fairness or precedent in the game—for Young-Mexico is canny; as canny as the Scotch.

But the Reformers didn't want to play fair—they wanted to try out a pet theory. We realize now that that theory was, if not Bolshevism, at least twin brother to it. They went about their scheme, as others before them had done like things—brow-beating the crowd; herding the masses—keeping them going, so they couldn't think even if they had any inclination to do so—in a word cultivating the gang-spirit. They suppressed facts where suppression would serve—they passed old facts off for new—they seized curious Mexican facts and displayed them in the light of United States' beliefs and practices.

For instance—when I reached the South, I found the club-women of a certain city studying Mexico—using as a text-book Herman Whittaker's "Planter"—making much, as the book was intended its readers should do, of the fact that men in the contracted-gangs in Mexico are strung out single file for long distances guarded by men armed with machetes, etc.,—a piece of unheard of cruelty according to the club-women. When I returned from my first inter-

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view with the president of the most prominent club, I encountered a band of convicts, in their horizontal-stripes, loading cars, guarded by men armed with Colt-automatics. I afterward tried to make these women see the likeness, but they couldn't. Guarded men in Mexico were evil, guarded men in the United States were not, and that was all there was to it. Nor could I convince them—a fact by the way—that the majority of the men in the guarded-gangs in Mexico are convicts, too. They don't wear stripes. Neither did the fact that Mexicans are afraid to work in any other way than single file—afraid of being knifed in the back—appeal to them. They were not used to it—it didn't go into the Pint-cup. They, too, had "Domesticated everything—they had even domesticated God,"—a point of which Whittaker was well aware when he shaped his stuff for them to read.

But it is not in the degrees of guilt between the United States and Mexico, regarding Indians, that Porfirio Diaz and his Yaquis are most revelatory. The Yaqui incident is one of these affairs that show the ruthlessness of the dreamer—those men who, in the march of progress, seem, not so much leaders, as haulers-up-of-the-masses at a decisive step in the world journey. Some of the steps are small—some large. National steps are small—universal steps are large. But—without the one the other could not be. Porfirio Diaz was not a savage—he was one of the most ruthless of a ruthless time. All these haulers-up-of-the-masses are ruthless. He had, as our own President Wilson has, the stamp of mind, which, convinced he is right, can move forward to its own conclusions with the inevitableness of a Juggernaut. In this one trait these two men are alike. I am not comparing them in bulk.

This kind of a dreamer, wherever you find him, and whatever the mass of his doing, is blind, impervious to all outside himself and his dream; doing without let or hindrance the thing he sees ought to be done—the next thing; considering all who differ with him selfish, retroactive, evil: An omnipotence of mind implied in: "Whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad."

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Every course of the kind, however managed by whatever man, carries within itself the seeds of destruction. The "Unknown power that leads to an unseen end," makes use of this tendency—this trait in some men—to accomplish universal ends. They are instruments for a particular use. The use served, Destiny in the guise of the law of cause and effect casts the instrument away. So it was with Porfirio—so it will be to the end.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S RESPONSIBILITY

LET us for the sake of argument allow that Diaz did not see far—what of it? He saw clearly and vitally two things at least, and he moved to them as inevitably as our own ruler is moving to the larger issue now. Each in his fateful goings has strewn wrecks of individuals and groups by the way.

Set down some of them.

For Porfirio—the Yaquis and kindred crimes, many—many!

For President Wilson—Forty thousand Americans in Mexico, refugees without a country—many of them homeless, poverty-stricken, outraged, dead. A not inconsiderable number of English and French Nationals in the same case, except that *they* are not without a country. The slaughter of the innocents—the boys of eleven and thirteen—in the military academy in Vera Cruz.

It is generally supposed in the United States that the landing in Vera Cruz was a necessary step for the protection of Americans. It may have been necessary, but it was not for the protection of anybody; it was to secure arms from the German ship *Ypiranga* so that they might not reach Huerta. Right or wrong, it was this landing that made Mexico impossible for Americans and eventually for other foreigners, with the exception of Germans—and in some places Spaniards. The landing was made—the customs house was seized, but the original purpose was not accomplished—the *Ypiranga* put out to sea, landed later at Puerta Mejico and the arms reached Huerta. The customs

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were for some months received by the United States, and, whether of intent or not, the loss of the customs was one of the main instruments in the elimination of Huerta and the putting into power of Carranza. Listen again to George Creel:

"Everything that this man" (Carranza) "is to-day is due to Woodrow Wilson; all that he has of power and place he owes absolutely to the assistance of America. Our refusal to recognize Huerta made the Carranza revolution possible. Merely one of a number of rebel chieftains, it was our selection that lifted Carranza above the Zapatas and Villas. It was our arms and ammunitions that carried him to victory, and our recognition that permitted him to remain in office."

Recognition is good—but to many in the light of the above facts it would be a franker admission to state: "It was our war on Huerta that permitted Carranza to win," and *our* isn't the right pronoun, as Mr. Creel distinctly states above.

The case of the *Ypiranga* has led some to wonder if, at the time and before, the United States expected German wrath, in case of disciplining Mexico, if our Government was uncertain just where England would stand in such an event, and if such a condition of affairs is a possible explanation of the Panama Tolls and the plea: "If you don't give me my way in this, I shall find it very difficult to manage some very delicate matters."

Shrewd guessers believe that England did some clever managing of Japan at that time and that she did it for us. It would be revelatory to find out. But—the particularly revelatory thing would be to find out just what went across the cables from Washington to Vera Cruz and back again, from, say, April 19-27, 1914.

To what end did Porfirio Diaz dream? The upbuilding of Mexico through the advantages of business and trade, work and, in some degree, schools. A thing that could be brought about solely by foreign capital. If, to accomplish this, he paid a price that to-day seems too great, may it be

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to say only that he was a daring manipulator in yesterday's market values? He foresaw business as the coming missionary. Was he so wrong?

Diaz's insight was small? Mayhap—small but vital. And—it functioned in the nineties and before. Who can say that this small vision of Porfirio may not be the base-rung of a ladder from which the greater vision was grasped?

To what end is President Wilson dreaming?

The stopping of wars, say many. Yes—but even if this isn't accomplished, the dream in its essence remains. It is "The Day"—when the mature souls incarnate shall work to give opportunity for child-souls incarnate to develop. Opportunity is not power—power cannot be given—opportunity is the only thing that can be given profitably to anyone. Through opportunity power may be won. I think that one trouble with Mexico is—we tried to bestow power instead of opportunity.

A CLINGING TO FEUDALISM

ALL the commotion that has been and is in the world ought to have taught us to think in forces instead of personalities, nationalities, or the world. Thinking, then, in some of the forces that have gone into the forming of "The League of Nations," is it not evident that unless some outside force can be injected to stem the tide, it will lead eventually to a world of one family? And now that we have removed the post of highest privilege shall not the force that enabled us to do it sweep back through all the units where privilege holds as law? And, if this be so, where will it end? Personally I don't care—I think the removal of privilege is sane. Also I am for the League if the time is ripe. But if possible, I should like Americans to understand just where we are going. I believe this knowledge would appeal to our particular co-operation as nothing else could. I am well aware that I am in the minority in so thinking. The rule: "They might not go if they knew, and it is good for them to go," still holds sway. To me it is a law of the past: a clinging to Feudalism—with its privilege—its substitution.

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President Wilson says no sacrifice is too great for Americans to make to bring about the League of Nations—he says we shall be ashamed if we don't make it. What he does not seem to realize is that just as Don Porfirio's former acts led, in the flaming time of his crisis, to so much doubt as to what his leading might be as to tip the scales against that leading—so, our own great leader has left out so much that might have been explanatory in the past as to cause some to wonder how much explanation is left out now.

All roads lead to Rome, and so far as the United States and world issues—especially since 1914—are concerned, Mexico *is* Rome. It is there that our most unexplained mistakes or our most mysterious deeds of righteousness have been wrought. Up to the present moment so secret has been the diplomacy that only God knows which it is. But the significant point is the direct but somewhat delayed connection with Mexico of the President's utterance as to the League.

Did the President have this or something of the kind in mind when he shaped our policy in Mexico in 1914 and sacrificed forty thousand to his guess on Carranza?

Does this "Higher Duty" he has in hand explain his jovial carelessness? Does it answer the boast: "I HAVE NO REGARD FOR AMERICAN DOLLARS IN MEXICO!" Then it would seem, if eternal sacrifices of Americans are necessary, that we who have already suffered it, now that we have paid the price of death, and poverty, and humiliation, and evil heaped upon us for having made it, may in behalf of the others say: "We wish it could have been possible to tell us what it was we were called upon to do, so we might have a conscious share in serving our country and our time and our world—instead of being herded like sheep to the shambles."

Speaking of shambles leads us back to Porfirio and his Yaquis. Like our own Apaches, the Yaquis were a "Group of Willful Men." Porfirio had an end in view—the vision of organized work—the Yaquis didn't fit in, and—the Yaquis went!

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Madero had an end in view—a government without practical plan, but with a vast deal of good intent—Porfirio didn't fit in and Porfirio went!

Huerta had an end in view—Madero didn't fit in, and—Madero went!

President Wilson had an end in view in Mexico—Huerta didn't fit in, and—Huerta resigned!

It didn't take some of these men long to go, for, in a world sense, their views were short. Like the luna moth which lives and loves for a night and dies, so these men fulfilled their destinies—served their hour and are gone. Some men's hour is longer, richer! It almost seems that according to the hour is the man. But—a long hour or a short hour well served is an hour.

We have prayed this long while "Lead us not into temptation." It had begotten in us an instinct that something outside ourselves was responsible for us, and to say we were sorry and ask to be forgiven wiped out any and all results that might have accrued from any course of action. Vicarious atonement came to mean to us doing as we pleased, and getting rid of the consequences by mere verbiage. And time went on changing things bit by bit, till into the consciousness of a few there seeped the knowledge that, whereas wrong-doing might sometimes give a power born of experience that made eventually for a greater right than could have been purchased otherwise, it did not for that reason wipe out the necessity to pay for the wrong itself. It must be paid for—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

"The greater right—the higher duty," is a thing by itself, and its performance in no wise excuses the neglect of the lesser duty—nor does it compensate for it.

MISSIONARIES OF THE NEW TIME

"IN their own tasks all their powers pouring"—that is why far-sighted men of affairs must be missionaries of the new time. That is what Mexico and its muss has taught us. These men are like the diamond that has been ground down to the small, perfect piece at the center—

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ground down to where the task has come to be the romance. Never in all time has a machine been so fitted to the time and the needs of the time as this machine of the Twentieth Century, made up of trained workmen—far-seeing men of affairs.

Someone says "Everything is vibration—the varying grades of humans but the differing rates of vibration." Of late there seems to be much truth in the contention. These men of whom I talk, seem to have reached a possibility where—if we give them opportunity—they may vibrate in that chord wherein intellect and soul merge and man's work well done becomes God's—the universal task.

I happened to say recently, that I would like to see the world's goods divided according to Bellamy in "Looking Backward,"—with a redistribution at the end of a certain term. A man replied:

"Surely, you are not so foolish as to demand that an Edison, a McAdoo, a Clews, a Davison should receive no more for his work than a street-sweeper. The sweeper wouldn't know how to spend it if he had it."

"That wouldn't make any difference," said I, "since it is to be redistributed. I expect the highest has learned by unwise spending as well as wise. The sweeper might learn also. Besides, it is only such men as you have mentioned who really can make sacrifices."

In your wills you divide your fortune equally among the babies and the grown-up children. There are infant-souls and grown-up souls, just as there are baby bodies and mature bodies.

It wasn't Mary, but Jesus of Nazareth who went to the Cross?

Am I advocating doing away with Christianity?

No—no—God forbid! Not Christianity, but asking that we may look at some other sides of the teachings of The Christ.

But—I am not advocating anything. Advocating is not my particular province. I am only one of the multitude of faint whispers that precede the dawn. Those who

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belong to organized life must do the advocating and the carrying-on, when enough whispers have come to sound out clearly the kind of dawn it is to be.

But, since all is changed in this world, I am pointing out that mayhap the kind of vehicle that serves for the transmission of religion may change with other things. Not God—not The Christ—not the masters, but the means whereby these speak. That which is indispensable to-day may be unserviceable to-morrow.

Yesterday in religion, as well as in secular life, was the day of substitution and over-inflation of intent. To-morrow promises to be the day of recognition of debt—the day of fulfillment. Intent will have climbed to its own plane of expression; the building of character, development of soul, individuality. Outward action will be charged and credited with results, and here where we wrought must we pay.

A WRECKED JOB

AND—I'm at the end of my tale, and I haven't said much acceptable stuff about Mexico. It is here as is always with me, a glide over into recounting the steps of a wrecked job.

Americans, on the spot, dug into a necessary step in civilization—a tropical jungle of civilization with its fungi, its miasmas, its semi-darkness, its vines hugging into the heart and squeezing the life out of everything else, its magical lure—above all its lure! Then, a big ham-of-a-hand propelled by the spirit of Bolshevism stretched out of Domesticity and squeezed it all to pulp. The danger is that when *this* pulp has rotted into dust and Domesticity has succeeded in forgetting, a ham-of-a-hand will sprawl once more and plant in this jungle of civilization some good women, who in the toiling of ants from ant-hill to budding-tree, will see in the moving river of green beneath their feet; not—as scientists, engineers, trained men of affairs do see—an army of slaves carrying bits of a certain kind of leaf to feed plant lice which exude a fluid on which the ant-babies live—but the romantic conclusion that these little fellows

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are "gallant" and are carrying umbrellas over companions. A Boston weekly published a lot of such rot recently—furnished by a woman missionary out of Mexico. If the ant was solitary, "carrying an umbrella over a companion," it was because he was the sole survivor of a battle; which the narrator undoubtedly could have proved if she had gone a little way over the hardened road traversed by the millions of ants. When it is possible, the believers in "Romantic-Ants" will again set their uncomprehending minds to tackle the job fit only for McAdoos, Cowdrays, Dohenys, far-sighted men of affairs who can handle and fit into a working machine all sorts of units—the half-dumb Indian who comes down from his village the first time; the Indian who has come down so many times he has developed himself into a leader of his clan; the Japanese coolie, who has fastened his eyes so long on rice in the growing he has forgotten how the sky looks; the Corean grown wise fighting for life between China and Japan; the Chinaman whose father learned what it was to be a man in San Francisco, but neglected to bring his younger sons over till it was too late; the Mexican convict; the drunkard; a world of dipsomaniacs! And their women—the women of them all!

Ay, there's a rub! A separate and unique problem! What "good-woman" could afford to understand it, even had she the power? Far-sighted men of affairs don't try. It is quite enough Godlikeness for them to fit the dissimilar units into the working-machine, as they must be fitted in order to achieve, so as to give opportunity to him who is able to take it.

It is Socrates over again, standing on the street-corner teaching him who is able to learn. It contains no patronage.

It would be a good thing if every man and woman who essays a step of responsibility into such places were obliged to ride through a tropical jungle on the first-blazed trail of the engineers. I advise such a trip for the sake of observing how God works at primitive things.

As a consequence of this too sudden grip of a hand out

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of domesticity, the world must reel back, or halt, which is the same thing, till the romantic translators of the methods of the ants are levelled up sufficiently to get out from under foot and give the far-sighted men of affairs room to work.

I am not claiming any saintliness for business or far-sighted men of affairs. It is not saintliness that is needed—it is wisdom. Bad as anyone may call them—bad as they may be, these men and their organizations come the nearest to serving the world of anything we have yet found. Whip them into shape if you will and can—they are the only kind that improves with whipping—but don't spend any time in special railings at them; they know better than anybody else how hypocritical such railings are—they are quite clear on the point that they are much of a kind with their fellows. Train your young so they can see through the débris that surrounds any and all work to the heart of it, where it comes to be God's job, linked-up with the eternal verities. Send these out to the front, then try to understand what it is they do as you tried to understand what it was the boys on the Argonne front did—it isn't so different at bottom.

We may find that God's scheme of things demands different treatment at different times, and at differing places. We may not have been able to translate all the message at first.

"Why didn't we tell you these things of Mexico before?"

We did, but there was great confusion—no one could hear. It was another case of the "Tower of Babel." Everyone the world over was speaking in a separate tongue—that is, a separate understanding. We translated their "couldn't understand" as wouldn't, just as they called our job—because they didn't understand it—evil. There's one chance of reparation left—the archives in Washington regarding Vera Cruz from April 19-27, 1914, laid on the table. As seen from the outside, nothing of the kind has ever happened to any other Nationals of any country in modern times. But, as I have said, there was vast confusion—the rustle of hordes of personalities being levelled-up and levelled-down, to get ready for a world-step-forward.

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THE EMBODIED CONSCIENCE OF A RACE

"THE Embodied Conscience of a Race," Annie Besant has called President Wilson. This from her may mean the American people as they are now—it may, on the other hand, mean the dominant people of the next world-step. If it is the latter, then it would explain much that is now hazy, and to say that the President has halted and trembled, groped and been misunderstood is only to say that he is a man among men, and has been called upon to take up a task which, according to any conception we have had heretofore, is quite above and beyond man. He needs must halt for the levelling-up and the levelling-down, to clear a world-channel through which to function—a general attitude of mind.

But if he is the Voice that shall lead the world-hosts on—is he going consciously or is he, too, being pushed by "the unknown power to an unseen end"?

His railings at all who do not agree with him as "retro-active, blind to world-currents," etc., charged as they are with bitter invective, would indicate that he acts largely as an unconscious agent. On the other hand, the seemingly deliberate sacrifice of forty thousand Nationals for the sake of a neighbor-people, even had it brought about the deliverance of that people—must be classed as an experiment in Vicarious Atonement, and would call for an almost God-like foresight on the part of one assuming such responsibility.

"No sacrifice is too great for America to make—we shall be ashamed if we don't make it."

But, if we go into the League of Nations with opinions, ideals abreast or even a little ahead of the other leading nations, there should be no call for special sacrifice on our part. The sacrifice must be divided. If there *is* great and special sacrifice called for on our part, then we do not go as ordinary brothers, but as leaders, redeemers, a vicarious atonement. We ought to know which it is. It will be the first experiment with a conglomerate "atonement."

This we can only speculate about—there is no way of

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settling it. The point of it all is, that, whether he is going consciously or not, in the way he has come to his present state of understanding, President Wilson has led us so mysteriously, played with us so adroitly as to have taught us to look for "the card up his sleeve." Nothing is so high and nothing of so little value as to be free from the law of cause and effect—the law of adjustment—balance—it is the rhythmic swing of the universe. That the return swing of the pendulum came for us at a time it did, when so much trust was needed everywhere, seems most unfortunate. But it has taught us effectually that there is no escaping: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

President Wilson may not have been fully ready for the great task that came to him—it rushed him a little. 'Way down the scale—the Americans in Mexico may not have been ready to serve when their time came. Each failed to put the job through till after disastrous delays, and each pays the same price for the failure—distrust.

Men of affairs in Mexico, who were not far-seeing; those on hand before the world was far-seeing had coerced and cheated there as elsewhere. It came their time to do the fair thing in Mexico, before it came time for their fellows, because they were where a coming civilization and a passing civilization met sharply face to face—something had to be done, and they did it. But there was none to believe they either *had* done it, or *would* do it. Ghosts out of the past rose up to confound and defeat them.

HAM-STRUNG GHOSTS FROM MEXICO

WHEN President Wilson came to the League of Nations, the world rose up to do him honor. But, as time went by, there rose to him also ghosts he himself had created. There was a ghost of the continual threat of dire disaster unless he was given his way absolutely, which he had dangled before our eyes since he had power to threaten. There was the wondrous, intoxicating juggling of words—as in the lambastings of those who "did not vote right on the McLemore Resolution"—notwithstanding the fact that the

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McLemore Resolution was never voted on by anybody. In this our great hour was he holding something up to us that had no more substance in it than the McLemore affair?

And then came that great army of ham-strung ghosts out of Mexico!

To end—however justifiable the Mexican Revolution may prove, however profitable to somebody, what may the Mexican peon and the Indian hope to get out of it?

At this moment I cannot see that he will get much if anything he might not have attained to by this time under the old system as it was shaping; for Mexico, under the good guidance of Limantour and some others, was travelling in her own way along with the rest of the world. The Revolution wasn't against what was, or what promised, but against what had been, with more than an even chance for much exaltation for the leaders. When the country opens up again, there must be a great influx of foreign capital. It is needless to say this ought to be largely American. Whether it will or not is a grave question. So early as 1913—once it became known that Americans could not count on their country's support—there was a great influx of British sugar men in Mexico looking over the prospects in American properties—finding out their financial standing—whether they were likely to go for the "bonds," etc. What is true of sugar is true of the rest.

People up here don't seem to realize that small farmers in Mexico can do little with their produce without foreigners to furnish markets for them. They can raise cane—cain it has been for ten years—grind it with ox-power, make into a perfectly black cone and peddle it about among themselves—when foreigners are among them these same small farmers can raise all the cane they have workers to manage and sell it readily to the mills. It takes a great deal of high-priced machinery, much money to buy it, much more to run it, to make good sugar in profitable amounts. When it is made in such places as Mexico, it takes a good deal of financial understanding to market it. It takes money and acumen to market bananas, pineapples, mangoes, avacadoes, oranges,

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lemons, lumber, coffee, rubber, etc. In the case of fruit it takes a great deal of wisdom to get by, or work with profitably, the United Fruit Company. The Indians do not possess this knowledge.

Foreigners of some kind must bring this money in, and there must be sufficient prospect of good returns to keep such able men at it long enough to secure those returns, for however much is put in, it must lie idle for some time. It takes time, money, faith, foresight, and—despite a belief to the contrary—a vast amount of kindliness and humanity. It is more or less digging Panama canals without the Government behind the proposition. When Mexico opens up and this capital flows in, there will be need of many, many laborers in one place. I sometimes wonder how many people in the United States have any conception how many laborers are needed to fill even sparingly the places in a million dollar sugar plantation. Some of them are five times as large. I wonder how many realize the civilization these properties bring with them: schools, hospitals,physicians, nurses, mechanic shops, blacksmith shops, stores, engineers of every kind, chemists, expert bridge-builders, etc.—everything and more that a small city up here must have. How many realize that trained men from the world's ends meet here? I have counted fourteen nationalities represented by expert men working together at a time. Under these experts there are from seven hundred laborers in busy seasons on the smaller places, to three and four times as many on the bigger places. Mines and oil can multiply it many times. Villages grow up around these places, some of them growing into the thousands. The plantations support these, as is proven by their dwindling to nothing when they close. They act as depots between the mountain Indian trade and the seaports.

When Mexico opens up, it is doubtful if she can furnish this labor. What then?

Look to Demerara, Surinam, Hawaii, etc.

It will be Chinese and Japanese coolies, Javanese coolies, East Indian coolies, Corean coolies. They must come

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in gangs and for a specified time, be responsible to someone in gangs. All these I have mentioned are accustomed to going out—under what is known as the British System—to the ends of the earth as they are needed. The men go on five-year contracts as against a six-month contract in use by Americans in Mexico. This British system is well worked out and well carried out. It is said to be the most nearly just there is.

WHAT WILL THE MEXICAN PEON GAIN?

BUT what will the peon of Mexico have gained? Such remnant of him as is left will be put up against a much stiffer game of competition than the Mexican has ever known. He must compete with the above mentioned; these can live on hardly nothing at all and grow fat. The Mexican must learn this; he is a natural spender.

But, what *will* have been gained?

Another foothold for the hordes of Asia!

Once again will a blow for a special liberty have been struck for a special people, and once more will it have glanced aside to benefit those of whom no thought was taken when the blow was planned. It will be a much farther-reaching loss the peon will sustain from these hordes than would ever, or could ever, have been demanded of him by American, English or French "overlords."

But—what will *the peon* have gained?

If it is a gain, he will more quickly get a chance to approximate the conditions laborers of his class confront in the world-game.

What will the *Indian* have lost—what will the world, through that loss—have lost too?

We shall all have lost that peculiar machine of business exchange—which had been more than twenty years in the building—between the Aztec and the foreigner of affairs. We shall have lost the understanding that had grown into a system, whereby the foreigner adapted himself and his machine so as to preserve the heart of the ancient Aztec Village Law—which is an apportioning out of the men who

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can be spared at a time without infringing on the proportion of able-bodied which must always be kept in the pueblos. To an outsider this may seem trivial, but it is not—it is the core of an ancient agricultural system—a something that has entered into the soul of this primitive people and made them at once humble and splendidly self-respecting. This understanding was held by foreigners as something almost sacred for more than twenty years, the Indian had appreciated the comprehension that had held them so, and had given their trust—not a slight thing in Aztec-land.

All this is practically done away with, for although the Zapotecans have entered but little into any of the revolutions, they have had no work, they have had no markets, and they have starved.

It seems to me to be a better thing to conserve what is of value in one civilization and take it along with that which displaces it, than to wipe it out entirely. It seems to be the worst of follies to eternally tear down one system after another because evil has entered into it—build another of like kind simply to tear *it* down.

The forced stoppage of English, French and American work in Mexico, —the decimating of the Indians—the turning of the peons into loot-lovers, I call waste—dire waste—a good job wrecked! It seems the work of a babe who *intends* well, while sticking a lighted match to his father's papers to make a pretty light for mamma!

But it may all be a part of the coming cosmic-heave, and Time's explanation may justify it.

What can we do?

Just one thing—let America, England, France stand together in a conservative demand for such conditions as must prevail in Mexico—based solely on the right of their nationals to work. It may mean war, but, with such an array, it probably won't. Then: "Ask Limantour and take his advice. It won't be easy to gain his confidence, but it can be done, because he loves Mexico."

And—don't save their souls, till business has had time to fill their stomachs and enliven their minds.

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THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

Smiles

THE theatre managers, those sage gentlemen who decide the type of plays they feel the public should enjoy—the *type* of plays, remember—the public decides on the play itself—have gone in for smiles, and in several cases have been able to exceed their own efforts and the result is a hearty laugh. Incidentally they are clean laughs—for the swinging pendulum of fashions in stagecraft has brought several clean comedies to open the fall season of the theatre.

For instance, it was a relief to find a farce that was funny without being vulgar—and, above all, minus a bedroom scene. You can't believe a modern farce of that type exists? Well, to admit the truth, one of the ladies of the complication wears very becoming pink pajamas, and intermittently rolls herself in a rug and a bed quilt,—but she does it in a most inoffensive manner, and never becomes coarse. If you need further conviction that a manager has had the good taste to eliminate the bedroom and still offer a laughable three acts of entertainment, go to see "Nightie Night," which has no connection with its title. The main idea of the little play concerns a chap who had loved one girl, but married another,—and a girl who married the man who had loved her from boyhood, and forgot to tell him that in the waiting years, while he was making millions in South America, she had married, become a mother, and a widow,—and had also gone on the stage to support herself. When she did tell Husband No. 2, he was so outraged that she ran away and left him, and her old friend chances to be the first person she meets who can help her in her difficulty. He does, and entangles himself in many most amusing scrapes, including a misunderstanding at home. It all ends happily in the kitchen, and the audience is allowed to go home after the reunion of all the

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happy pairs. The acting is excellent, with Francis Byrne heading the nonsense makers, and proving himself a remarkable comedian. Dorothy Mortimer, Suzanne Willa and Malcolm Duncan play the other leading roles, and are aided by several clever people. "Nightie Night" is a good evening's entertainment.

The new play, incidentally, is from the pens of two new writers for the theatre, Martha M. Stanley and Adelaide Matthews, and is the initial production of Adolph Klauber, long a writer for the theatre and of recent years a member of a producing firm,—also the husband of the very talented Jane Cowl.

Another play built after a farcical pattern is "A Regular Fellow." It is a comedy of an automobile tire business, unfortunately lacking in a central theme that creates sustained interest. There are several scenes in the play that are entertaining, but they are not frequent enough to carry the production to any great measure of success. Ernest Glendenning plays the leading role, but is never at his best because he is unable to rise above the unnaturalness of the characterization of the author.

A third comedy—there are over half a dozen of them as a start for the season—is "Up From Nowhere" and brings forth two points of interest,—one that the exceptionally clever Booth Tarkington and Harry Leon Wilson are humanly fallible, and the second that managers still occasionally labor under the delusion that a clever English actor can successfully portray an American of the rougher element. This latter point involves an actor of rare ability, and is a case of sad miscasting. Norman Trevor is absolutely unfitted for the role of a coarse, self-made American, one who has come "up from nowhere." The play itself lacks the story quality that carries an audience forward from act to act. It has an amount of comedy of the lightest variety, and a character, *Captain Hercules Penny*, that is as breezy as the best old-salt captain of any recent production. Then, too, it has a heroine who is young, charmingly mannered, and, of course, pretty. Cecil Yapp is the sea captain, and Ann Andrews, the heroine.

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Men Out of Uniform

GOING on with the list, the theatre-goers will find four very excellent comedies, and a fifth not quite so clever. One comedy is of the lightest variety,—a second of the type that will be all right for the older members of the family, but not for the children, and two delightful plays that center about the man in khaki once he has changed to civilian clothes. "Civilian Clothes," the first of the two returned-soldier comedies, tells of a girl who has secretly married an officer the night he performed a feat of valor. A year later, dressed in "civies," in her very aristocratic home, her hero looks vastly different, and she decides to have nothing to do with him. It is a comedy of the taming of snobbishness. The man in the case—he is Irish—has a quick wit even if he is not a society model when out of uniform, and, to even his account with the wife who will not recognize him, he accepts a position as butler in her home. This brings about several clever situations, and so enrages the secret wife that she elopes with the son of the next-door family, whom all her friends expect her to marry, not knowing of course of the gallant Irishman. The husband goes after his wife, and she finds that she loves him in spite of his civilian clothes. The play is very well acted with Olive Tell as the girl, and Thurston Hall, better known for his work in musical comedy, scoring as the returned hero. The majority of the work of the play falls to Mr. Hall, and he carries the character of the Irish soldier-butler perfectly. The play is from the pen of Thompson Buchanan, and he can add one more clever American comedy to his list of successes.

Booth Tarkington surprised all those who criticized his writing of "Up From Nowhere" when his latest play "Clarence" was offered for public view. This, too, tells of a man just out of the army,—a meek type of chap who wanders into a home where there are the usual complications of a growing family, and proceeds to straighten out varied unpleasantnesses that he finds about him. How he succeeds, the gradual developing of the character for whom

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the play is named, could be made the subject of an essayistical review. Mr. Tarkington has sketched several characters in this play that must be added to his gallery of amazingly realistic American types. *Clarence* is one of them, so is *Cora Wheeler*, the little lady who must be a grown-up cousin of *Jane Baxter*, while a third is *Cora's* brother, *Bobby*. *Cora* is the best of them all. She is at the age when love is a very tragic sensation, and the scene in which she assures her family that she has every right to fall in love with a grass widower, is pure comedy of the highest type. And her harassed father's reply, "Go upstairs, and wash your face," is, —well,—human. Helen Hays, the remarkable little actress who shared honor with Mr. Gillette in "Dear Brutus" last season, is *Cora*, and gives an excellent characterization. Alfred Lunt is *Clarence*. This is his first appearance in a role of stellar proportion, and he more than earned his right to such a part. He is a finished actor. Glenn Hunter played the boy *Bobby*, and did it well. The rest of the cast is splendid.

More Smiles

"FIRST is Last," a college comedy, is another example of miscasting, for the college men in the first act looked far from young. The play tells of a group of fellows who pledge to meet in years after their graduation and report their success. Of course, those whom one expects to succeed are failures, and *vice-versa*. The fun is never hilarious and often lacks cleverness. This play is the second example of the season of the fallibility of the playwrights, for no less an author than Samuel Shipman, who is partly responsible for "East is West," is programmed as co-author of the play, while his collaborator was responsible for "The Woman in Room 13," one of last season's perfect productions.

The "light as air" play is "Adam and Eve." It tells in a very charming and inconsequential manner the story of a much harassed man who is nothing more or less than a human check-book for his family, his daughters, and his relatives, who, he explains, "arrived to spend a week-end

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fifteen years before, and have never gone home." In a moment of self-defense Father decides to send the family to a farm, and the family conspire with the doctor to send Father for a sea trip. Father goes for the trip, but not as the family expected, and before leaving puts *Adam Smith* of his office force in charge of his affairs. *Adam* is to keep expenses down, and does so by announcing that Father has "gone broke" and that the family will have to work the farm in order to eat. Of course, they all profit financially and physically from the outdoor life, and of course there is the usual happy ending with *Adam* marrying *Eve*, the lovely daughter of the head of the house who comes back from sea in time for the happiness. The play is well acted,—Otto Krueger playing *Adam*, Ruth Shepley, *Eve*, and a competent cast the other amusing characters.

The wicked little comedy is called "Scandal." It tells of a young lady who decides to have a night out, and visit the studio of an artist who is famous for his bad behavior. She reaches there while two of her very élite family friends are looking over one of the artist's latest pictures, and, in spite of their admonitions, she decides to stay. In the midst of a very bohemian love scene in which, for novelty, the young lady is holding her own, her family arrive. They have tracked her,—her scandalous behavior will ruin them! She must go to a convent, or Canada, any point where she can live down the past! The young miss who has been called an imp decides to do nothing of the sort, and announces that she is in the studio because she is secretly married to the gentleman across the hall, the one the family wanted her to marry, and who had a few minutes before asked to be allowed to escort her home. The man arrives on the scene, and, in an aside, she begs him to be a sport. He consents. The first inning is hers. In the second act the author skates on very thin ice, and more than once a line breaks through. It is decidedly daring, and only the virile decency of the characterization given by Charles Cherry, who plays the man, raises it from a point of sheer vulgarity. The third act, of course, straightens out the whole affair,

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and the curtain falls with the two planning to be really married. "Scandal" will probably have a long run in New York City (it lasted for seven or eight months in Chicago), and largely because of Mr. Cherry, who is quite ably assisted by a young lady named Francine Larrimore. Mr. Cherry brings to the role all the grace that has long made him one of our most distinguished players, and Miss Larrimore is "cute" and makes her characterization interesting, even though she does lisp occasionally, and by so doing makes herself inaudible.

A Lonely Musical Comedy

GOING under the influence of the old adage that a rose is just as sweet by any other name, they called the only new musical comedy "See Saw." It doesn't matter at all, for this show is so clever that people will enjoy it as well under one title as another. The story of the play is Earl Derr Bigger's adaption of his own novel "Love Insurance." It tells of a young chap who works for Lloyd's, and insures anybody against anything. He is quite happy and successful until he discovers that he has insured an English lord against the possibility of a charming Detroit girl breaking off their engagement, and the Detroit girl is the one the insurance broker fell in love with across a canteen counter in France. The resulting situations are funny, and the music, which is almost an incidental, is charming and will be much whistled. Frank Carter, veteran of several Winter Garden and Follies productions, plays the insurance agent, and is very successful in the role. He has a number of people about him who know how to sing and dance, and the result is that "See Saw" sets a lively pace for other musical productions of the season.

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The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

Unscrambling the Old Order

WE seem to be arriving at an Un-United States of the World to be governed (with permission of the Federated workers) by a Super-Council of Dollar-a-Year-Men seated (occasionally) in some scenic village upon a commanding eminence of personal comfort.

The Literati, Poets and Dollar-a-Year Statesmen (to be appointed, not elected) are to enter into discussions upon points of international irritation. In the meantime, the less-super-organizations of labor are continuing their demands for more wages, better conditions and shorter hours. Insomuch as each nation of the super-state is yet responsible for the coin and paper issued as currency, its war debts and other obligations, it would seem that the only solution of the economic problem is for the super-state (as soon as its final reading is approved) to issue bonds against the world's reserve flora and fauna, its mineral wealth, its forests, its unoccupied lands, its untouched oils and its unharnessed power of water, heat and light, and issue a super-currency to meet the increasing demands of the H. C. of L. Mr. Hoover, who knows more than any living man about these questions, is a logical Super-President of the World Federation; Mr. McAdoo, who is a wizard of bond issues, and Mr. Wilson a visionist of rare perception—would suggest themselves as a worthy trio to function the Super-Council. In the meantime the fading structures that demarked the ancient lines of national cleavage, might do well to make assignments and liquidate their obligations and get into the Super-World Federation on easy terms as bankrupts. Vive le Monde! Down with the H. C. of L. and the Old Order. Why struggle to preserve such dead issues as Nationality? Enter Volapuk and the rule (God save the mark!) of the Super-State.

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Food For Thought

WE ARE living in the Thinking Age, having passed through the Stone Age and other Periods of World evolution. The problems that have come out of the war are about the only food that has not been hoarded or marked up.

Everybody's thinking and thinking has not yet federated itself. Most brains that are not paid to think for someone else, are thinking from the personal point of view. The personal point of view is a wholly selfish one; therefore the average thought cell is working for itself.

We find groups of thought cells organized under various names such as the Stage Hands' Union, the Woman's Political Party, or the American Manufacturers' Association or the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. We find, too, a hundred and one organized propaganda societies thinking for or against Mexican Intervention, Annexation or Independence of the Philippines, or, a Society for the Preservation of the Constitution, or a Society for the League of Nations, or the Freedom of Ireland.

A list of the various organizations seeking to impose their ideas upon others, would fill this magazine, scriptural measure. They have sprung up like mushrooms in a forest; their name is legion and beneath and underlying their objects is some commercial or moral issue.

They are the aftermath of the Great War, and they motivate the thought into action. Out of them and from the brain, agitation that vibrates without and within their visible forms we are to look to a Solution of the Problems that are agitating the elements of Unrest into a Foment.

But let us be grateful that the People are Thinking; that the mind of America is Awake.

Fallow soil and receptive fields await the leader who can sense mass agitation and clarify mass aspirations. Rising to the surface are bubbles that explode in the free air. We must keep the air pressure unobstructed so that bubbles may rise. Free intercourse and open expression will give the necessary vent to sophistry and false doctrines. The vast majority of Americans are level-headed people, and are

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capable of thinking straight. A sound appeal is sure of prompt endorsement. The false prophets and self-seeking will find small company when the issues come to test.

Never was there a time with us when straight thinking, sound economics and clean politics had a better chance of audience. The nation has been educated to the advanced agent of action—propaganda. It has become a recognized species of education, not supplied by the schools nor the Congressional Record. The spirit of service and forbearance that characterized war times must be kept alive through Reconstruction and Readjustment days. Human nature and sound order have not changed. We must not destroy to rebuild. We must readjust our lives and aspirations, our scale of life, and work with the changed condition that is the heritage of war—

The inflated dollar.
The inflated value of labor.
The inflated power of government.
The inflated importance of organization.
The inflated importance of the individual.
The inflated panaceas of universal peace.
The inflated word of false prophets.
The inflated promises of self-seeking political aspirants.
The inflated rights of sects, nationalities and combinations.

As individual brains we can help to leaven the inflation; as thinkers we can preach sound, unbiased doctrines and live them and vote for them.

Undigested Organizations

A Patriotic Society Speaker upon a recent evening, in exhorting an audience at a theatre, between the acts, among other things said: "When this great organization of so-and-so many hundred thousand get under way and we want anything of politicians—any legislation put through—we're just about going to get what we want or we'll know the reason why," etc., etc.

The threat was reminiscent of the Anti-Saloon League

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tactics. It also recalled the threat of a strike leader in Chicago in August: "We want more and we're going to have it, or there won't be any street-cars moved," etc. The threat was also in key with the talk that has come out of the steel and mining districts in September, and is heard abroad in the land, all along the line where Organization rears its head from the grass.

We are cursed with undigested organization. The soap-box and the highly paid agitator-organizer is, like the itch, here, and we can't get him. He jumps as rapidly as the cootie and makes himself a power because he appeals to human greed. "You can make them pay more,"—"make them do this and that,"—or "we'll put them out of business."

It is time the backbone of America arose and put the professional organizer in duress; handled him as did a certain manufacturer who has a large plant in New England, surrounded by a prosperous and peaceful community, living in comfortable homes, and drawing good wages and participating in the net profits of the industry. One day arrived in this community an advance agent of unrest. He started in to harangue the workers; pictured fanciful wrongs, and conjured vicious pictures of greedy employers. His pockets were full of money and his satchel bulging with Red literature. Mr. Manufacturer heard of his ravings, lost no time in convincing the local sheriff that this particular wild-eyed talker was an undesirable citizen. He was given a quick shift by the strong-armed sheriff and he and his satchel landed upon the platform of an out-going train, without a return ticket, but with some carefully chosen words of advice. The community has gone forward peacefully since.

The man who foments ignorance, who arouses manpower to mass effort against law and order, who organizes for destructive purposes, or in an attempt to intimidate legislators or industry, is an enemy to our Government and should be treated as such.

"Sign here!" has become the order of the hour. Law

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and order, the courts, the forces of government are ignored, if not openly, secretly. These things are revolutionary and threatening to constitutional liberties. The time is arriving and rapidly when the public opinion of real Americans, who put country first, will take these self-seeking organizers, these paid agitators who are playing upon the elemental passions, and put them on the back platform of a train that leads to obloquy.

In the Political Forest

WE are all wondering who our next President will be. It is too early to guess; not too early to speculate. The political shadowland is ominous with gaunt shadows. Greed stalks in the background threateningly. Peace optimists at home and abroad are trying to dispel some of the murky darkness of the storm-swept political horizon. Unrest is creeping in the grass. The moonbeams reflected into the laden atmosphere come from an inflated dollar.

The shadows of the Wall of High Cost, across the picture, grow heavier; the frenzied opportunist of organized mass is dust in the eyes of the prophet. The huge giant of Industry, shackled by slackening Labor, is trying to arise and stabilize himself. Who will go forth into the forest of the Political Future? Who will be given Party Leaderships?

The Party in Power has led the Nation into a maze of Unsolved Questions. It has torn asunder the Old Order. Its leader has found himself in a bypath of Internationalism.

Will his party supply a new leader equal to the carrying on? What timber is left in the Democratic Forest? Who has grown big in the War struggle? in the Reconstruction Days? Or, shall the People turn to the right—take a new road, or the Road Back to Nationalism and Security—and who in the Republican Ranks will be chosen to bear the Party Standard across the hot sands of discontent, through the Shadowland of war-bred spirits of evil?

The Opportunity awaits the Man.

Here are some names that stand out:

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Democratic potentialities—McAdoo, Palmer, Pershing, Hoover, Baker, Hitchcock, Marshall.

On the Republican slate the magic chalk has written —Wood, Lowden, Harding, Johnson, Borah.

George W. Perkins' Labor Solution

AMONG the constructive thinkers in America there are none so exposed to public distrust as those who are trying to bring about a better understanding between Capital and Labor. Perhaps they are not all untainted with selfish thought, even though their views are given the widest distribution. Though they are sincere in conviction, they often have the outward pallor of pamphlet-politics. Our waste-basket is always full of information on this subject, unwillingly thrust upon us. It depends a good deal upon the man whose name sponsors the pamphlet, whether it escapes the rejected trial. Doubtless the night watchman, during the early hours, keeps himself awake with this prolific literature, that overflows the desk at which we uneasily preside.

Constructive thinkers who write more about what others think than what they think themselves are numerous. It is to commend the exception that these lines are drawn out upon a sea of trouble, in the hope that they may pick up ideas that will be worth while for the Uneasy Chair.

We commend especially, this month, Mr. George W. Perkins, a thinking dynamo, harnessed to a voltage of executive energy that is recorded in the industrial affairs of the nation. What Mr. Perkins thinks about the relations of Labor and Capital is not hampered with constructive advice that saddens. What he says about the problem lifts it out of academic regrets into a human sympathy with the rebellion of labor, and the greed of Capital.

He is a millionaire-optimist, with a sound, practical knowledge of the temptations that assail the wage-earner, and the temptations that oppress the prosperous business man. To both of them, he says, "play fair." To the wage-earner, he says,—increase your wages by increasing the in-

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come of the business that employs you. To the business man he says—take the wage-earner into all the secrets of your business, put him on a profit-sharing basis with the work he contributes to your successful corporation. In the general way this idea has been widely misrepresented because the human element of mutual hope in the plan has not been explained.

Mr. Perkins explains it. He urges Capital to present a simple, straightforward balance sheet of all his transactions to the employees, and he urges the workers to re-invest their share of the profits in the business. Profit-sharing, as this millionaire sees it, invites Labor to develop brains as well as Labor in the new partnership. That is, he asks Labor to handle its wages as business handles its Capital, in a prospect of better business, more money for both. To divide among employees cash profit is, in his opinion, a mistake, because the cash profit is not enough at first. Until it matures into a sum that approximates a sizable amount, the wage-earner should leave his profits in the business. If Labor is inseparable to the success of Capital, then Labor should co-operate in cash investments as well as skill. Labor then becomes like any other partner in the business when it regards wages as a drawing account for general expenses, and shares in the surplus that the business earns.

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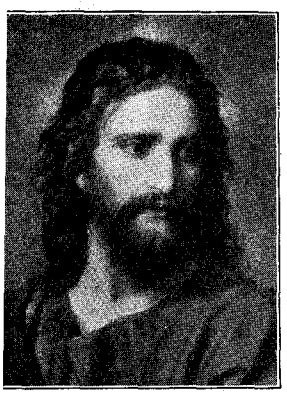
"The Most Wonderful Book of the Ages"

The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ

Transcribed from the Book of God's Remembrance, the Akashic Records. By LEVI.



Partial Table of Contents

Section 1. Birth and Early Life of Mary, Mother of Jesus.
2. Birth and Infancy of John the Harbinger, and of Jesus.
3. Education of Mary and Elizabeth in Zoan.
4. Childhood and Early Education of John the Harbinger.
5. Childhood and Early Education of Jesus.
6. Life and Works of Jesus in India.
7. Life and Works of Jesus in Thibet and Western India.
8. Life and Works of Jesus in Persia.
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